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THE BRITISH EMPIRE



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TORONTO

THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

SIX LECTURES

BY

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THE MEMBERS
OF THE
WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

The lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground : yea, I
have a goodly heritage.

Psalm xvi. 6.

Day is as night and night is as day, until we hear
that the English are victorious. God knows the right.
He will help the right.

*Extract from a Somali Address to
King George, 1914 (Translation).*

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INTRODUCTORY

THE British Empire, as seen through German eyes at this time of international bitterness, is a creation of force and fraud, an image with feet of clay, a collection of down-trodden races and communities, eager to rebel ; in short, an evil in the world which ought to be wiped out. No sane Englishman and no sane man in any neutral nation shares this view. But though before the present war knowledge of the realities of the Empire was steadily growing in the United Kingdom, it was still only half knowledge or less ; and, moreover, among a large section of Englishmen there was a suspicion of Empire, both the word and the thing, as implying jingoism, vainglory, and hypocrisy. Hence arose the term of Little Englander. Coupled with this suspicion there was a feeling among some, at any rate, of the working men of England, that the Empire was of no use to them, and that they had no use for the Empire. It might be the luxury of the richer classes, but how, they asked, was the working man of England benefited by the Empire ? It is proposed in the following pages to state as shortly, as simply, and as honestly as the writer can, how this Empire came into being, and what it means ; to explain that it is not a mere creation of force and fraud ; and to try to prove that it is at once the interest and the duty of all Englishmen, poor as well as rich, to maintain it. Two

comments may be made at the outset, and will bear repetition later. The first is that it is idle not to recognise that nations, which are communities of men and women, are, like the individual men and women, as a rule guided by mixed motives. Self-interest enters in, as well as moral principle and tradition: nations have an instinct to rise in the world, as men have to rise in life. The second comment is that it is impossible to read history aright, if the deeds done in past centuries are judged in the light of the present day. Right and wrong are always right and wrong, but they are more right or more wrong in proportion to the stage of civilisation which has been reached. All nations have done evil deeds; but, in condemning what was done in the past, it is right to remember that the men of the past did not sin against the light to the same extent as if the deeds had been done here and now. The converse is also true. The world-wide indignation against German treatment of Belgium is due, not only to the actual facts, but also to reflection that what would have been bad at any time is infinitely worse for having been perpetrated when the world was supposed to have left barbarism behind it.

The word Empire is responsible for much misunderstanding. We are obliged to use it, because we have no other single word which would cover the many and diverse dominions of His Majesty the King. But Empire to many, possibly to most, Englishmen, implies military domination, despotic rule, aggression on other liberties. This does not represent the facts. - Canada and Australia belong to the British Empire and are proud to belong to it, yet nowhere in the world is liberty, government of the people by the people for the people, more fully developed. But, inasmuch as words count for something, it is worth noticing, first that

the Latin word from which Empire is derived was not a purely military term, and secondly that when the word first comes into English history it is used to denote not domination but independence. A celebrated statute was passed in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, which laid down that "This realm of England is an Empire." The statute was passed against paying dues to the Papal See; and the meaning of the words Empire and Imperial, as explained by the great commentator, Blackstone, was "that our King is equally sovereign and independent within these his dominions, as any emperor is in his empire." Empire denoted the spiritual and temporal independence of England, and it may fairly be said that, at the present day, British Empire connotes British liberty.

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND IN THE MAKING

HISTORY tells us that nations which acquire overseas possessions acquire them when, and not until, they have taken final shape at home, not until they have really become nations and entered upon national life. Then the force and the instinct which have completed the home work seek for a further outlet, which in modern times has, as a rule, been found beyond the seas. This law of evolution, for it is no less, can be traced in the history of Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, and in late years in that of United Germany and United Italy. Nations must be made, before they can grow into Empires. The British Empire, as an actual reality, only begins with the beginning of the seventeenth century, with the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the accession of King James I.; and it will be noted that it was not until James I. became King of England that the whole island of Britain came permanently under one Crown. Before his time Scotland had been a separate kingdom from England, and when he was called to be King of England as well as of Scotland, he took the new title of King of Great Britain. It is proposed in this chapter to note how England grew into a nation, and what elements in her making contributed to the coming Empire. The great point to notice is the

Nations
and
Empires.

The many
strains in
the English
nation.

many strains which have entered into the English blood. If an amalgam of so many different elements produced such a strong and successful people, it may fairly be argued that the many and great diversities which now exist in the British Empire will, if wisely handled, be ultimately a source not of weakness but of strength.

Roman
Britain.

In ancient times, when civilisation centred round the Mediterranean, our island was at the furthest extreme of the known world. It comes into history under the names of Britain and Albion. Under the name of Britain it became a Roman province, being conquered by the Romans as far as the line of the Forth and the Clyde. The Romans held the island for rather less than four centuries, and they left their mark to this day in the Roman Wall in Northumberland, in the traces of old Roman roads, in the foundations of Roman towns which have been unearthed at Silchester and elsewhere. Early in the fifth century A.D. Britain ceased to be a Roman province; but, although all vestiges of Roman rule disappeared, the island up to the Highlands of Scotland had been more or less united under one Roman administration. Roman blood must have intermixed with the native Britons, and it is difficult to suppose that the future England did not derive some strength from the wonderful people who gave laws and roads and government to the greater part of the then known world. During the Roman occupation there was a very short interval, between 287 and 296 A.D., when Britain became a kind of separate Roman monarchy apart from the Empire. A Roman, Carausius, had command of a strong fleet to safeguard the eastern side of the island against Teutonic pirates, and, gaining command of the sea, proclaimed himself as an independent prince. His triumph was short-lived, but the historian Gibbon's comment is:

Carausius.

times been lords of the English sea on every side," and a coin from his mint—a noble—commemorated his naval supremacy.

Four things our noble showeth to me,
King, ship, and sword and power of the sea.

After his death a poem likened him to the rudder of an English ship.

The rother was noather ok ne elm,
Hit was Edward the thridde the noble kniht.

And he took practical steps to secure his possession of the Narrow Sea by the capture of Calais in 1347. Calais remained in English hands till the reign of Queen Mary, the year 1558. Its loss marked the end of England's tenure in France, and by this time the horizon had widened beyond the Narrow Sea. But, as long as the sea for England meant the Narrow Sea, it was all important to hold both sides of the Straits of Dover. In the "Libel of English Policie," a poem of the time of King Henry VI., the Emperor, Sigismund, is made to say to the English King, with reference to Dover and Calais :

Keepe these two tounes sure, and your Majesty
As your tweyne eyne : so keepe the narrow sea.

King Edward had two admirals, one of the southern and western, the other of the northern seas, the dividing point being the mouth of the Thames. But, while one King or another owned ships, no Royal Navy, as we understand it, was in existence till the days of modern history. We read of Kings like Henry V. building large vessels, but even King Henry VIII., who was also a builder of big ships, had few at his disposal. There was a sea-fight in the year 1511, at the beginning of his reign, between a famous Scottish sea-rover, Andrew Barton, and English ships. The English-

men took the Scottish ship, and in the old ballad the English commander presents it to King Henry in the following words :

Sir Andrew's shipp I bring with mee
A braver shipp was never none,
Nowe hath your Grace two shippes of Warre,
Before in England was but one.

the Cinque
ports.

For the defence of England the rulers of England depended on the shipping of the various ports, and the ports and their citizens obtained privileges and liberties in return for their protection of the English coasts. The Cinque Ports of Kent and Sussex were pre-eminently the guardians of the Narrow Sea. The original five ports were Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Romney, and Hythe, and to them were added the "Ancient Towns" of Rye and Winchelsea. These seaport towns, and the adjoining towns which contributed to the expense, were granted special and most extensive liberties by successive Kings, notably by King Edward I. in 1278, on condition of doing yearly "their full service of fifty and seven ships at their cost for fifteen days," at the summons of the King. The ships came to be known as the Royal Navy of the Cinque Ports, and their commander was styled Admiral of the Fleet of the Cinque Ports. Thus the King and his subjects living near the coast contracted for the keeping of England, and English liberties grew up hand in hand with the defence of the kingdom.

An old ballad of the reign of King Henry VI. runs :

For when they have take the sea
At Sandwyche or at Wynchylsee,
At Brystow, or where that hit bee.

the Ports
England

It seems strange at the present day to read of Sandwich and Winchelsea as great English ports side by side with Bristol ; it shows how in the course of ages the coasts of

England have changed, and how one town or another has been affected either by retreat of the sea or by the growth in the size of ships. In the account of the fleet which Edward III. led against Calais, the largest contributor among the southern ports was the present little Cornish town of Fowey, and high up among the northern and eastern ports was Lynn in Norfolk. Still, most of the English seaports which are great now were great in early days, with some notable exceptions, such as Liverpool. Newcastle-on-Tyne; Scarborough, with its Iceland trade; Hull, which Edward I. took into his own hands—whence the name Kingston-on-Hull; Yarmouth; Southampton, in the Middle Ages a ship-building centre and the great port of call for the Venetian galleys which brought to England and to Flanders the riches of the Levant; Dartmouth, Plymouth, and many others were in bygone days, as they are now, flourishing English ports.

Most of all London and Bristol were always great. Even London. in Roman times the historian Tacitus wrote of London as “much frequented by a number of Merchants and trading vessels.” It had a large foreign trade in Saxon and Danish times, and after the Norman Conquest, when England became linked on to the continent, London, with its great waterway of the Thames opening out towards Flanders and France, grew constantly in importance. “To this city,” says an old writer of the reign of Henry II., “merchants bring in wares by ships from every nation under heaven.” As the merchant companies grew up in the Middle Ages, they tended more and more to have their head centres in London, and here too were the headquarters of Foreign Merchants in England, Florentines and Venetians, Italian bankers who gave its name to Lombard Street, Flemish merchants, Germans, notable in London even before the days of the Norman Conquest, and in the Middle

Ages most notable as the Merchants of the Hanse or Easterlings, who under successive Royal Charters enjoyed special privileges in their London home, the Steelyard—the Gild-halla Teutonica, in Dowgate ward on the banks of the Thames, where the Cannon Street railway station now stands.

Bristol.

Bristol, too, was great at all times. Even before the Norman Conquest it had a large trade, notably with Ireland, to which it carried on a nefarious slave traffic, as in later times it was concerned in the West African slave trade. Its harbour, we read, was a receptacle for ships coming from Ireland and Norway. Bristol ships went to Iceland for fish, until the Newfoundland fisheries were made known to the world : they went to Bordeaux, long in English hands, for wine : they went to Spain. In the “ Battle of Agincourt,” the Elizabethan poet Michael Drayton wrote :

Eight goodly ships so Bristol ready made,
Which to the King they bountifully lent,
With Spanish wines which they for ballast lade,
In happy speed of his brave voyage meant,
Hoping his conquests should enlarge their trade.

For Bristol merchants like other Englishmen had mixed motives : they would answer the King’s call to defend their country, but they had also in their eye the prospect of commercial gain. In the reign of King Edward IV., in or about the year 1460, a Bristol merchant, William Canynges, was said to have owned 2853 tons of shipping, employing 800 sailors, one of the ships being 900 tons in size.

Boston.

One of the English ports which was very prominent in the Middle Ages, and does not now hold the same relative position, was Boston in Lincolnshire. At the beginning of the reign of Edward I. the customs duties collected here on wool and leather exceeded in amount the collections made

at any other English port including London. It was the port of Lincoln and of Stamford, and St. Botolph's fair was one of the greatest mercantile gatherings in England. Florentines shipped wool at this port for their use in Italy; the Hansards had a factory at Boston.

The Boston export trade was mainly in wool and subse- Wool.
quently in cloth. There was a time in the Middle Ages when the wealth of England consisted almost entirely of raw material, and that raw material was almost entirely wool. What Australia is now with regard to the United Kingdom and other countries, a great exporter of wool, that was England to the continent of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We read in a law-book: "There are five staple merchandises of England, viz. wool, woolfels, leather, lead, and tin." Of them wool was incomparably the most important, and the wool which was sent across the narrow sea was manufactured on the continent, especially in Flanders, where Bruges was the chief centre of trade. King Edward III. attracted to England Flemish weavers and clothmakers who taught our people their art—a fact not to be forgotten now that we have so many Flemings taking refuge among us—and gradually the English, instead of sending their wool to foreign parts, used Cloth.
it in increasing quantities at home, and exported the manufactured article instead of the raw product. Very prosperous was the English cloth trade in the latter part of the Middle Ages, in the West country, in East Anglia, and elsewhere. Bristol was a centre of cloth-making: Flemings settled there, and there was turned out "her kirtell Bristowe red." A Bristol historian wrongly derived our word blanket, whose etymology is *blanc*, "white," from Thomas Blanket, a celebrated Bristol cloth merchant in the fourteenth century. "Worsted," "kersey" take their names

from villages in Norfolk and Suffolk. Lincoln and Stamford, like Bristol, were famous for scarlet cloth, which was shipped at Boston.

It was more especially in connexion with wool and cloth that the great merchant companies, which were to do so much for England, directly or indirectly, in coming centuries, began to be formed. There were guilds of various kinds for masters and for workmen in the English towns, especially in London. There were mercers, originally dealers in petty wares and afterwards traders in silk: grocers, general traders who dealt in gross, and who were also called pepperers, for their trade consisted principally in this and other products of the East: there were weavers' guilds and numberless others; but wool and cloth brought wider organisations to birth. The most ancient of these was the company of the Merchants of the Staple. They claimed to date from the reign of Henry III., but the system with which they were connected seems to have been initiated by Edward I. Wool being the principal source of England's wealth, it was important for the King to ensure that he should receive his rightful dues. It was important, too, that English wool should be standardised, and the wool trade be protected and regulated. The course was therefore taken of fixing certain towns at which alone the wool should be sold, and the Merchants of the Staple were entrusted with the working of the system, which was laid down in full in the Consolidating Ordinance of the Staple passed in England in Edward III.'s reign, in the year 1353. Originally the staple, *i.e.* the central market, was, it is said, placed at Bruges, the Flemings being the chief customers for wool; at one time it was moved to Antwerp. By Edward III.'s law it was moved to England, where various towns were constituted staple towns, some towns having ports attached to

he
merchants
the
staple.

them for the purpose, such as Hull for York : then it was moved to Calais, Calais being now in English hands, and after various changes Calais was in the reign of Richard II, permanently made the main staple centre : there it remained till the town was retaken by the French in Queen Mary's time. By this date the staple system and the staple merchants had declined, the wool being required for home manufacture not for export. For the staplers dealt only in raw commodities, and they were not so much exporters as sellers to the foreigners who were attracted to the staple markets. Indeed, by Edward III.'s ordinance, it was for the time made a felony for a British subject to engage in export of the articles which were enumerated as "staple merchandises."

Very different was the position of the Merchant Adventurers, and far greater was their history and their effect on English history as a whole. The Staplers, as has been seen, dealt with raw products; the Merchant Adventurers dealt in English manufactures, principally cloth, and their object was to establish themselves abroad in foreign lands and cities, especially in Flanders and the Low Countries, to carry English trade beyond the seas. They seem to have grown out of the Mercers' Guild. They claimed a distant ancestry, to be "the brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury." They claimed to have been given privileges by John, Duke of Brabant, in 1248; but it was in the reign of Edward III. that they seem to have come to the front, and it was not until the reign of Henry IV. that, in the year 1407, they were given a royal charter, "the art of making cloth being grown to good perfection within this realm." They traded, we are told, "in the towns and ports lying between the rivers of Somme in France and the Scawe in the German sea"; they traded later in Germany, and in

The
Merchant
Adven-
turers.

the eighteenth century were known as the Hamburg Company. They came, as they grew, into rivalry with the Merchants of the Staple, and still more with the Hanse Merchants settled in England ; and after long conflict they obtained the mastery over the Hansards, whose privileges were finally cancelled towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

There were Merchant Adventurers in various English towns ; there was a strong body, for instance, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. But their headquarters were in London, and the Merchant Adventurers elsewhere seem to have become affiliated to their metropolitan brethren. These Merchant Adventurers were the forerunners and, it may almost be said, the parents of the great companies which came into existence in the days of the Tudors and in later times. They embodied the beginnings of English overseas enterprise, and in the year 1554 they are spoken of as " the English nation beyond the sea." The Charter of Henry IV. gave them no exclusive monopoly, but by combination they secured it against English merchants who did not belong to their number. The latter petitioned bitterly against them to Henry VII., and an Act of Parliament was passed in 1496 which restricted their dealings towards their fellow-countrymen. Their history is typical of English methods, private initiative obtaining Royal license but not asking for State funds, energetic, enterprising, aiming directly at private gain, and in doing so promoting national interests. That in the days when the modern world was young and the risks very great, merchant companies should fight for and often be given monopolies was only natural. They were taking out patents, and patentees have a right to demand that they shall be secured in the fields of their enterprise, that they shall not incur the initial expense, and,

when they have opened the field and sown the seed, see others enter in and reap the fruits of their labours.

It is a true saying that England has been made by her adventurers. It was private Englishmen rather than Kings or Parliaments who in the main began and subsequently carried on the work of England beyond the seas. Yet Kings and Parliaments took a hand in making or marring. Edward III., who brought the Flemish weavers into England, at one time prohibited the use or importation of foreign cloth in order to protect the native industry. King Henry IV., we are told, prohibited "the invection of foreign made cloth." His predecessor, Richard II., passed the first Navigation Act for the encouragement of British shipping, an Act passed in 1381, which provided that "none of the King's subjects shall carry forth nor bring any merchandises but only in ships of the King's allegiance": a similar but only temporary Act was passed in the reign of Edward IV. Whatever may be said against or for the economic effects of such Acts, they were at any rate evidence of preference in England for English, of growing national spirit alike in Kings and people. So the Middle Ages began to merge into modern history. William Caxton had brought the printing-press into England, sailors now used the mariner's compass, guns and gunpowder had come in for fighting purposes; but English sailors and soldiers had as yet seen only narrow fields, and even English trade, with some exceptions, such as the Iceland trade, was with lands and on seas comparatively near home.

The first
Navigation
Act.

The beginning of modern history for England is taken to date roughly from the accession of the Tudors. The long era of war with France and of civil war between York and Lancaster, both wars equally disastrous, finally ended when Henry VII. came to the throne in 1485. Of him Bacon

The
Tudors.

Henry VII

writes: "The King also (having care to make his realm potent as well by sea as by land), for the better maintenance of the navy, ordained that wines and woads from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc, should not be brought but in English bottoms, bowing the ancient policy of this estate from consideration of plenty to consideration of power; for that almost all the ancient statutes invite (by all means) merchants strangers to bring in all sorts of commodities, having for end cheapness and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power." The reference is to a Navigation Act prohibiting the importation of Bordeaux wines in other than English vessels manned by English crews. Passed in the first year of his reign, the Act was made permanent in 1489. The first year of this reign, too, saw an Act "for reparacyons of the Navee"; the King began building big ships, and constructed at Portsmouth the first dry dock in England. If he bowed the policy of his predecessors from "consideration of plenty to consideration of power," he was none the less a keen and vigilant guardian of English trade. At one time, in 1493, mainly on political grounds, he banished the Flemings from England and moved the headquarters of the Merchant Adventurers from Antwerp to Calais; but three years later he concluded a general agreement with the ruler of Flanders, and "the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy"; for, in Bacon's words again, "being a King that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick." An extra duty which injured the English wine trade, imposed by the Venetians in the Levant, was met by a threat from the King to establish, as against Venice, a wool staple at Pisa in Florentine territory, and a treaty was made with Denmark removing obstructions to the English

voyages to Iceland. While by an Act of 1496 he protected, as has been said, English merchants at large from exactions at the hands of the Merchant Adventurers; none the less by his charters, especially a charter of 1505, which first formally gave them the title of the Fellowship of the Merchants Adventurers of England, he recognised and strengthened the great company, aiming at bringing all the merchants who traded with Flanders and the Netherlands into a single national corporation.

If his reign were not otherwise memorable, it would live in history for the discovery of North America by John Cabot. The direct route to "the gorgeous East," the Mediterranean route, was commanded by the Turks, who finally took Constantinople in 1453, and the Christian nations of Western Europe cast about to find some other way. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the Portuguese, inspired by Prince Henry of Portugal, born of an English mother, slowly but steadily made their way down the west coast of Africa, and in 1487, two years after Henry VII. became King of England, a Portuguese sailor rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Portugal had long won her fights against the Moors and had become a nation. Spain was made one by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, uniting the Crowns of Arragon and Castile in 1479, and by the Conquest of Granada from the Moors in 1492; and in accordance with the law of nations already emphasised, in accordance also with their geographical position—for the Iberian peninsula is half-way between the Mediterranean and Atlantic—the Portuguese and the Spaniards led the way in overseas enterprise among the peoples of Western Europe. In 1498 the Portuguese reached India round the Cape, and six years earlier, in 1492, the year of the Conquest of Granada, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese in the service

The
Portuguese
and
Spanish
discoveries.

of Isabella of Castile, in an effort to reach the East by a western route, discovered America. It was but a chance that he did not discover it for Henry VII. of England. He had offered his services to and asked backing from the English King, but the offer miscarried, "and so," says Bacon, "the West Indies by Providence were then reserved for the Crown of Castilia." In 1480 a Bristol ship set out to find in the Atlantic the fabled island of Brazille, and to Bristol there came from Venice another sailor of Genoese birth, John Cabot. In March 1496 he obtained for himself and his three sons, one of whom was Sebastian Cabot, a patent from Henry VII. empowering them to discover unknown lands under the King's banner, and in a little Bristol ship, the *Matthew*, with a Bristol crew, on St. John's Day, the 24th of June 1497, they sighted North America, whether Newfoundland or Cape Breton or some other part of the North American coast was the landfall. A second voyage followed in 1498. Thus the English crossed the Atlantic and found North America. They did it, guided by a man from the Italian city ports which had led in maritime enterprise through the Middle Ages, and were now coming to the end of their work and of their greatness: they did it in thoroughly English fashion "upon their own proper costs and charges." The King gave a license, and stood to take a fifth of the profits, but he did not for himself or for the State contribute to the cost.

Cabot's
discovery
of North
America.

The oceans being opened and Spain and Portugal being first in the field, the Pope of the time being in 1493 divided by a line of longitude the unknown world between these two powers: and in the next year Spain and Portugal made a treaty which with modifications adopted the division. Thereafter, at any rate in the central parts of the world, the ships of other nations were regarded by the

Spaniards and Portuguese as trespassers when they came to discover, to trade, or to colonise. This meant that outside the Northern regions the English and others could only prosecute overseas enterprise if they were prepared to fight for it, and accordingly at the outset force necessarily entered into the making of an Empire.

Henry VIII. succeeded his father in 1509 and reigned till 1547. In his turbulent reign the outstanding feature is the severance of England as a nation from the spiritual power of Rome. It was in this connexion, as we have seen, that the declaration was made, "This realm of England is an Empire." The full rich fruits of the Reformation were to come later; but England completed her nationhood when the King of England became head of the Church as well as head of the State, and from this date more than ever the island and its people entered on its own path and worked out its own salvation apart from the continent of Europe. To the sea-power of England and to defence King Henry gave his whole heart. Continuing his father's policy of building big ships, he added to the Navy, among others, the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, better known as the *Great Harry*, a ship of 1500 tons. He bought ships, too, from foreign parts, an instance being the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a ship which had a notable history. We read that she was a ship of 700 tons and was bought by the King from merchants of Lubeck in 1544. Becoming in due course the property of Queen Elizabeth, she was lent by her royal owner to the great English sea-captain Sir John Hawkins for fighting and privateering in the Spanish seas. In a fight with the Spaniards at San Juan d'Ulloa in September 1568, in which both Hawkins and Drake took part, she fell into Spanish hands, the only ship of Elizabeth's Navy which was taken by the Spaniards, except the *Revenge*, in which Sir Richard

Henry
VIII.

The *Jesus*
of Lubeck.

The Navy
Board.

Grenville fought his immortal fight. A side-note in Hakluyt states, "The *Jesus of Lubeck*, which Sir John Hawkins lost in the West Indies, was the last great ship which was either builded or bought beyond the seas." She was an epitome of the times; Kings and subjects were still, so to speak, in partnership in the fighting ships of England: some of the ships belonged to the Kings, more were owned by private citizens; but the Royal Navy was gradually growing, and England was more and more building her own vessels. An Act "for the maintenance of the Navy" was passed in 1540, and in 1546 the greatest step forward towards a Royal Navy that had yet been taken was made by the establishment of a Navy Board, the beginning of the modern Admiralty. King Henry founded Woolwich dock-yard, and Hakluyt tells us that he "with princely liberality erected three severall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here upon the Thames, the other at Kingston upon Hull, and the third at Newcastle upon Tyne." The Guild at Deptford was presumably "The Guild of the Holy and Undividable Trinity and St. Clement at Deptford Strond," which we now know as Trinity House in its home on Tower Hill. It was a time of new learning, when men's minds were being awakened in all directions, when new lands were being revealed and new ideas entering in alike in war and in peace. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in the *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.*, tells us that in 1535 "great brass ordnance, as cannon and culverin, were first cast in England," English cannon being for the first time, in those years, cast in the entire piece and bored. The same writer speaks of the King as inventing small pieces of artillery, for he was "of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in these kinds now daily appeared."

Meanwhile, though no great and immediate results

followed upon Cabot's discovery, Englishmen were taking their way steadily and surely over the ocean. Newfoundland, under the name of Newland, finds a place in an Act of Parliament of 1540 which dealt with fish, and for Bristol the Newfoundland fisheries began to take the place of the Iceland trade. British ships were at length finding their way into the Levant in growing competition with the carrying trade of Venice. As early as 1481 English merchants had projected a voyage to Guinea, but were baulked of their wishes by the opposition of the Portuguese Government, and now we read of actual voyages to the west coast of Africa and Brazil. These last were undertaken in the years 1530-32 by William Hawkins of Plymouth, "a man for his wisdom, experience, and skill in sea causes much esteemed and beloved of King Henry VIII." He was the father of Sir John Hawkins; here we have the famous Devonshire family of sailor merchants coming on the scene, and here we see the beginning for Englishmen of the long and terrible connexion between tropical West Africa and tropical America, the two opposite shores of the great Atlantic lake, a connexion rendered infamous by the slave-trade. Once more, it was in the reign of Henry VIII. that Frenchmen made Canada known to the world. Jacques Cartier, from the Breton port of St. Malo, in the summer of 1534 sailed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and in the following year made his way up the great river of Canada to where Quebec and Montreal now stand. This was the beginning of New France.

The Newfoundland fisheries.

The first English voyages to West Africa.

The discovery of Canada.

Between 1547 and 1553, the short reign of King Edward VI., Sebastian Cabot, son of John Cabot, who had long been in Spain, came back to England in his old age and was made Grand Pilot of England. He became "Governor of the Mystery and Company of the Merchant Adventurers for

Edward VI

The
Muscovy
Company.

the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown," and in May 1553 he issued instructions "for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay." This, though a royal charter had not yet been given, was the beginning of what was known as the Muscovy Company or the Russia Company, the first of a series of new companies, of which a word must be said. The Merchant Adventurers were the forefathers of the later companies, but they were concerned with foreign lands near home and well known. The later companies dealt with unknown or with far-distant lands. As the fact that the Turks had blocked the direct route to the East led to the Portuguese finding their way round the Cape, and to Columbus discovering what he thought was the western side of the Far East, as evidenced by the name West Indies, so the fact that Spain and Portugal claimed under papal award all the central lands and seas of the world, set other nations, the young and coming peoples, to seek for new routes to the Indies and China or Cathay.

The Pope had fixed a line of longitude but no line of latitude, and Spaniards and Portuguese were comparatively indifferent to the Far North. Hence the English sought for a northern passage to the East. "There is left one way to discover, which is into the North," wrote the Bristol-born merchant, Robert Thorne, from Seville to Henry VIII. But if the northern route was taken, there were two alternatives of north-east or north-west, and on this point Englishmen were divided. Hakluyt tells us of "Master Anthonie Jenkinson in a disputation before Her Majesty (Queen Elizabeth) with Sir Humfrey Gilbert for proove of a passage by the north-east to Cathaya." Humphrey Gilbert, as he showed by his life and by his death, was an advocate of the western route. Jenkinson, who had been into the Levant as early as 1516, became the

able representative of the Muscovy Company in Russia. For, as Columbus set out to find a way to the East and found instead America, so the Muscovy Company, in quest of a north-eastern passage, which they never found, effected a wholly different object, and opened up trade between England and Russia. This company is said to have been the first of the great English joint-stock companies for foreign trade, as opposed to what were called regulated companies. The members of the Merchant Adventurers Company were fellow-members of one and the same company, but they traded each at their own risk and on their own resources. "The Company," wrote their Secretary in 1601, "hath no bank nor Common Stock, nor common factor to buy or sell for the whole company, but every man tradeth apart, and particularly with his own stock and with his own factor or servant." The Muscovy Company, on the other hand, adopted the joint-stock system.

They made their first venture in 1553, sending out three ships under Sir Hugh Willoughby, who carried a commendatory letter from King Edward VI., and Richard Chancellor. Willoughby and his followers perished of starvation on the Lapland coast, but Chancellor came safe home in 1554, having from the north coast of Russia paid a visit to the Czar at Moscow.

The Company obtained their charter of incorporation from Philip and Mary in February 1555, being empowered to sail to all parts of the world "before their late adventure or enterprise unknown," and to annex and conquer for the Crown. Private Englishmen, as always, were at work, pursuing private gain, no doubt, but at the same time doing work for the State at no cost to the State. There is an interesting side-note in Hakluyt with regard to this charter in the words, "K. Philip and Queene Mary hereby do

Philip and
Mary.

Queen
Elizabeth.

England
and Spain.

The
Nether-
landers.

disannull Pope Alexander's division." But the Roman Catholic Queen and her bigoted Spanish husband were out of sympathy with the English people. Persecution and burning of Protestants widened the gulf which severed England from Rome : the loss of Calais in 1558—a blessing in disguise—was at the time a humiliation ; and when in 1559 Queen Mary died and her half-sister Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, the forces which had been pent up in England made themselves felt all the world over. They were the forces of a growing people, whose way was on the sea, who would have none of foreign despotism in religion or in State, who loved and served a despotic and capricious Queen, because she was English and stood for England and knew what English liberty meant ; whose sworn foe was the King of Spain, because he was the embodiment of political and religious despotism ; to whom Roman Catholicism was illustrated by the Spanish Inquisition ; in whose eyes Spain monopolised lands and seas of which they intended to claim their share.

As the arch enemy of England was Spain, so in even greater measure were the Spaniards the foes of the Netherlanders, desperately fighting for their independence and their lives. Then, as now, war with a great Power meant fighting that Power not merely at home but wherever there were Spanish possessions on land or Spanish ships at sea. As at the present time war with Germany has meant war with her not merely on the battlefields close at home, but in the Pacific, in the South Atlantic, in Africa, in China, so the Englishmen and Dutchmen fought and looted wherever Spain had anything to lose. As, again, English ships have been bombarding the German troops on the Flemish shore, checking their advance on land or sea, so when in 1588 the Spanish Armada came up the channel, the Dutch ships

blocked the Duke of Parma and his veteran soldiers waiting to join in the invasion of England from the Flemish ports. The result of the Armada was ruinous to Spain, but long before there was open war between England and Spain, English sailors were harrying Spanish lands and Spanish trade. As the Northmen came ravaging into England in bygone centuries, so the English went forth in Queen Elizabeth's time to fight and to fill their pockets. They did not ask leave of their sovereign, they took their own English leave, braving the wrath of their Queen and her Ministers, and still the same strange partnership between King or Queen and subjects went on to the satisfaction of both parties. Queen Elizabeth, as we have seen, lent her ship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, to Hawkins, who went slave-trading, kidnapping negroes in West Africa and forcing their sale on the Spanish Main. She shared the spoils which Drake brought back from his voyage round the world: she lent Martin Frobisher a ship and subscribed to his Arctic ventures.

The
Elizabethan
sailors.

It has been said that Danes and Northmen above all others brought the seafaring strain into England, but it was not from the Danish parts of England that the great sailors of Queen Elizabeth's reign were principally recruited. Martin Frobisher, it is true, hailed from Yorkshire; Thomas Cavendish, who followed Drake in sailing round the world, was an East Anglian from Suffolk; but it was from Devonshire that the sea heroes of the time principally came. We read in Fuller's *Worthies* that the natives of Devonshire "are dexterous in any employment, and Queen Elizabeth was wont to say of their gentry, 'They were all born courtiers with a becoming confidence.'" Of their confidence there can be no question. There was the Hawkins family from Plymouth. William Hawkins we

The Devon-
shire men.

have noted. His son was the great Sir John Hawkins, freebooter and slave-trader, but a fine sailor, "very wise, gallant, and true-hearted," for twenty-two years Treasurer of the Navy. He had a brother, William Hawkins, who voyaged to the West Indies; and a son, Sir Richard Hawkins, who sailed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific, was taken prisoner by the Spaniards and passed eight years in a Spanish prison, and who left behind him when he died long afterwards, *Observations on his Voyage into the South Sea*. Sir Walter Raleigh and his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, were Devonshire men, so was John Davis, Arctic explorer, discoverer of the Falkland Islands and pioneer of English trade in the Eastern seas; while born near Tavistock, a kinsman of Hawkins, was the greatest English sailor till Nelson's day, Francis Drake, "the Master thief of the unknown world."

Mixed motives inspired these men. They fought for Queen and country and freedom; they also fought for gain; they embodied the national instinct which told the islanders that the time had come to take their ways beyond their island: they were beginning the Empire. They taught their rulers courage. To the Spanish complaint that Drake was a trespasser in Spanish seas Queen Elizabeth retorted, "Neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons; forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof." They brought English fighting ships, navigation, seamanship, and treatment of sailors to a wholly different level from all that had gone before. Hawkins, Stow tells us, "in his youth studied the mathematics." "He was the first that invented the cunning stratagem of false nettings for ships in fighting . . . he also devised the chain pumps for ships and perfected many defects in the navy royal."

Growth of
knowledge
and im-
provement
of seaman-
ship.

'As Treasurer of the Navy he, with Drake, instituted the "Chatham chest," which was the forerunner of Greenwich Hospital. Davis invented a quadrant and wrote *The Seaman's Secrets*, a treatise on navigation. Drake "was more skilful in all points of navigation than any that ever was before his time, in his time, or since his death . . . skilful in artillery, expert and apt to let blood, and give physic unto his people according to the climates." Year by year they improved their ships and guns and men, and year by year they widened knowledge and opened English eyes to what the great world meant. In 1573 Drake looked down from the Isthmus of Darien upon the Pacific Ocean, vowing, if he lived, to carry the English flag into its waters, and in 1577-80 he carried out his vow, sailing round the world in the *Golden Hind*.

The stars above would make thee known
 If men here silent were,
 The sun himself cannot forget
 His fellow-traveller

At the same time, in 1576-78, Martin Frobisher penetrated into the Arctic regions, hunting for the North-West Passage. A few years later, in 1587, having burnt the Spanish fleet and shipping in Cadiz harbour, Drake captured off the Azores a Spanish-Portuguese East Indiaman, returning richly freighted from the Indies; and, resulting from this capture, so Camden tells us, the English "so fully understood by the merchants' papers the rich value of the Indian merchandises and the manner of trading in that Eastern world, that they afterwards set up a gainful trade and traffic thither, establishing a company of East India merchants."

Chartered companies were hard at work. Existing Chartered companies were strengthened. In 1564 the Merchant Companies.

Adventurers were given a new charter, and their great rivals, the Hansards, were finally driven out of the field in England in 1598. In 1566 the Muscovy Company secured an Act of Parliament, "an act for the corporation of merchants adventurers for the discovering of new trades." This Act embodied the provisions of a Navigation Law, for its terms ran: "And for the better maintenance of the Navy and Mariners of this realm, be it provided and enacted that it shall not be lawful to the said fellowship and company, nor to any of them, to carry and transport or cause to be carried and transported any commodity of this realm to their new trade, but only in English ships, and to be sailed for the most part with English mariners." A Russian ambassador had already visited London in 1557, and returning with him to Russia, Jenkinson made his way in following years to Bokhara, Astrakhan, and Persia. In 1579 the "fellowship of Eastland Merchants" received a charter, empowering them to trade through the Sound to Scandinavia, Lithuania, Poland, and Prussia. This was an expansion of an old grant for the benefit of merchants trading to the Baltic made by King Henry IV. in 1408, the year after the first charter of the Merchant Adventurers Company. Frobisher's first Arctic venture in 1576 led, in the following year, to a charter for a Company of Cathay, the governor being Michael Lok, a great traveller in the Levant and "a man for his knowledge in divers languages, and especially in cosmography, able to do his country good." The object was the discovery of the North-West Passage.

The
Eastland
Company.

The Levant
Company.

The year 1581 saw the beginning of a great company, the Levant or Turkey Company, probably an offshoot of the Grocers' Guild. For years the English had been coming more and more into the Mediterranean, bent on carrying the produce of the Levant to England in their own ships,

instead of letting it be carried by the galleys of Venice. Hakluyt tells us that in the early years of the sixteenth century "divers tall ships of London . . . with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristow had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria," but till the middle of the century the Levantine trade was still mainly carried in Venetian carracks or "argosies," a word coined out of the name of the port of Ragusa. So Shakespeare writes in the *Merchant of Venice* :

Your mind is tossing on the ocean ;
There, where your argosies with portly sail,
Like signiors and rich burghers on the flood,
Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
Do overpeer the petty traffickers.

In 1553 the indefatigable Anthony Jenkinson obtained from the Turkish Sultan trading privileges for English merchants at Aleppo. In 1579 three English merchants went on a mission to Constantinople. In 1581 Queen Elizabeth made a treaty with the Sultan, and by Letters Patent conferred upon a merchant syndicate a grant of exclusive trade to Turkey for seven years. The Turkey merchants subsequently combined with merchants trading to Venice, and in 1592 second Letters Patent created the Corporation of the Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant. This marked the end of the era in which the Levantine trade to England was carried in foreign vessels, and it marked the beginning of direct British political and commercial relations with Constantinople, the Company, be it noted, paying the salaries of the ambassador and consuls.

Williams Hawkins' calls at the West African coast on his way to Brazil were followed a little later by other voyages to West Africa. In 1553 a Syndicate of Adven-

The first
West Africa
Company.

turers to Guinea was formed in London, and two ships sailed for Guinea and Benin. It was an unsuccessful venture, but in the next year and the next English ships went out again, bringing back gold dust, ivory, and the spice known as Guinea pepper. In 1562 English slave-trading began with a visit by Sir John Hawkins to Sierra Leone, and in 1588, the year of the Armada, the first African Company was incorporated by Royal Patent, the members being merchants of Exeter, the West Country, and London, and the sphere of their operations the Senegal and Gambia rivers.

The East
India
Company.

~~The sixteenth century ended with the birth of the greatest~~
of all chartered companies. After Drake had sailed round the world and after the battle of the Armada had broken the sea power of Spain—and Portugal was now under Spanish domination—the English began to take their way to the Indies round the Cape. The first voyage, fitted out by London merchants and led by Raymond and James Lancaster, started in 1591. In 1599 the merchants of London held a meeting, presided over by the Lord Mayor, to form an association and raise a subscription for trading with the Indies by the direct Cape route. The promoters were largely members of the Levant Company, and the first governor of the East India Company was governor also of the older corporation. There was some delay in obtaining a charter from the Queen, but on the 31st of December 1600 the charter was given incorporating “The governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.” This was the grain of mustard seed which grew into the great tree of the British East Indian Empire.

Attempts
at colonisa-
tion.

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that the British Empire only began after the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In other words, there were no actual British colonies

for dependencies before that date. But there is one colony—Newfoundland—which was annexed, though not occupied, in this reign, and there were other important though still-born attempts at colonisation and acquisition of territory beyond the seas. In 1563 there was talk of establishing a colony in Florida, which came to nothing. A notorious adventurer, Thomas Stukeley, of Devonshire birth, but unworthy of Devonshire, fathered the scheme. Queen Elizabeth supplied one of the ships, but, instead of founding a colony, Stukeley did pirates' work on the high seas.

In 1579 Drake, on his voyage round the world, landed on the Californian coast: he "called this country Nova Albion, and that for two causes, the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs which lie towards the sea, and the other because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometime was so called." At his departure he "set up a monument of our being there; as also of Her Majesty's right and title to the same, viz. a plate nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraven Her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into Her Majesty's hand." Barren of results as it was, this first declaration of British sovereignty in the New World should not be forgotten. But the two Englishmen most intent on planting colonies were the half-brothers Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh. In 1578 Gilbert was granted a patent by Queen Elizabeth "for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America." Five years later he made his famous voyage to Newfoundland. The story has been often told how "he took seizin and possession of Newfoundland (according to the ancient solemn ceremony of cutting a turf for the Crown of England," how "he did let set give and dispose of many things as absolute governor there," how

Gilbert and
Newfound-
land.

Raleigh and
Virginia.

he annexed the island in the most formal manner, and did all short of establishing a colony. It was left to Bristol men in 1610 to form the first permanent settlement in the island. Gilbert was lost in the Atlantic on his homeward voyage, "learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over colonies into remote countries upon private men's purses than he and others in an enormous credulity had persuaded themselves to their own cost and detriment"; but Raleigh was a like enthusiast for planting English colonies beyond the seas. Under a Royal Patent of 1584, the year after his brother's death, he sent two ships to North America to explore with a view to a future settlement. They took a southerly course, and visited the Carolina coasts and the island of Roanoke; they came back with a glowing report of the land and the people; the name of Virginia was given in honour of the Virgin Queen, and in the next year, 1585, colonists were sent out in ships commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Roanoke was the scene of the settlement, which proved a failure, the settlers being brought back by Drake on his way home from raiding the Spanish Main. In 1587 settlers were again sent out to Roanoke, more in number than before, and a "governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia" were designated; but again the scheme miscarried, and in two years' time the place was desolate. Not till the sixteenth century was past and gone, and not till the reign of the Virgin Queen was ended, did Virginia become more than a name, and British settlement took root beyond the Atlantic.

Richard
Hakluyt.

The literature of a time tells the spirit, the hopes, and aspirations of the time. In the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign Richard Hakluyt, "Preacher and sometime student of Christchurch in Oxford," prebend of Bristol,

and Archdeacon of Westminster, was beginning his record of travels on land and sea, at pains to gain first-hand knowledge from "those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers." In 1582 he published *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*, and in 1589, the year after the Armada, appeared the first edition or germ of his great work, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. There was now an English nation indeed, and the voyages and the discoveries of that nation were worthy and held to be worthy of record. To the nation and its island home and Queen, to the doings of the islanders, and the dreams of future destiny which those doings inspired the poets of the time bear noble witness. George Peele writes of

The Elizabethan
poets.

Elizabeth, great empress of the world,
Britannia's Atlas, Star of England's globe.

Michael Drayton extols the Queen

. . . who sent her navies hence
Unto the either Inde and to that shore so green,
Virginia that we call of her, a Virgin Queen.

Marlowe's fancy in Tamburlaine roves all over the world, as widely as Drake sailed, and with rich confusion of geography :

Have fetched about the Indian continent
Even from Persepolis to Mexico
And thence unto the Straits of Jubalter.

All know his lines :

See what a world of ground
Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line
Unto the rising of this earthly globe,
Whereas the sun declining from our sight
Begins the day with our Antipodes.

He seems to prophesy of what our own eyes have seen, as in the line :

We mean to travel to the Antarctic pole.

or in these words :

And here, not far from Alexandria,
Whereas the Terrene and the Red Sea meet,
Being distant less than full a hundred leagues,
I meant to cut a channel to them both
That men might quickly sail to India.

Where was now the horizon which had been bounded by the Narrow Sea, and what had become of the days, but lately sped, when the English relied on foreign vessels to bring into England the riches of the Mediterranean and the East ?

But to Shakespeare, above all, we turn to see how new discoveries of an awakening world were leavening English thought and fancy, and to realise how intense was the Englishman's belief in England, the island which in fulness of time had come to her own. We find traces of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* in Othello's words :

Of the cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi ; and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

In *Twelfth Night* there is a reference to the revised Mercator's map of 1599 :

He does smile his face into more lines than are on the new Map
with the Augmentation of the Indies.

In the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* we read how

Other men, of slender reputation,
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out :
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there,
Some to discover islands far away.

"She's a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty . . . they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both," says Falstaff of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

And all the poet's love goes out for "England hedged in with the main," England "in a great pool a swan's nest," England "bound in with the triumphant sea."

The spirit of the time went on after the time was over. Other writers have pointed out how the early voyages of the East India Company kindled the fire of John Milton's poetry in *Paradise Lost*.

As when, far off at sea, a fleet descried
Hangs on the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs.

And to the stern Puritan poet, no less than to Shakespeare,
"this isle" of England is

The greatest and the best of all the main.

What good has the Empire been to Englishmen? Why did England want an Empire? Find the answer in the annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, before there was any British Empire at all. Because the English sucked in the instinct of maritime enterprise with their mother's milk, because they identified—and rightly—such enterprise with freedom and national life, because they were human and found that it paid, because they were growing and meant to grow, because they were English and loved to have it so.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Trade and Settlement

IN the overseas history of England, Sir Walter Raleigh is a link between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. In the latter part of the sixteenth century he was a coloniser in advance of his time. He was a Knight errant out of his time in the early years of the seventeenth century, after James I., who beheaded him at the instigation of Spain, had become King of England. For the seventeenth century was wholly different in character from the age of Elizabeth, almost as different as King James himself was from the Virgin Queen. Writers have pointed out how Spanish colonial history differed from English colonial history in that the Spaniards, having discovered America, forthwith overflowed its central and southern regions in a wave of conquest, winning their empire as the immediate result of their discovery; whereas the English, on the other hand, made their way tentatively and by slow degrees, achieving more permanent success in the end. Spanish discovery and Empire were one and the same process. The English had their age of discovery, adventure, and privateering, and, after the glamour was over, there came a prosaic time in the seventeenth century when settlement began and

The age of
adventure
and the
age of
settlement.

slowly grew as a sober matter of business. It is of course true that the great companies, of which we have spoken, went on uninterruptedly from the one century into the other, and it is also true that there was much privateering still in the seventeenth century; but trading only, not settlement, was the work of the sixteenth-century companies, and they were concerned mainly with the East and how to get there. In the West, the age of settlement was for England quite distinct from the age of adventure. One set of men surveyed the field; another set of men came in later and tilled it.

We have already put the question, Why did the English want an Empire? Let us put it again in the following terms. What business had the English to intrude into other peoples' lands, to take and occupy them? and why did they not stay at home in their own island and mind their own business? The answer to the first question is, if the English and other peoples had not intruded into lands which did not belong to them, the world would never have gone on at all.

History has been made, nations have been made, civilisation has taken the place of barbarism simply by this process of intrusion. Most Aborigines, as they are called, came from somewhere else. What business had Romans, Saxons, Danes, and so forth to come into Britain where the Britons, who were probably themselves interlopers, strongly objected to their coming? It is difficult to answer; if they had not come, however, there would have been a geographical expression called Britain, but there would have been no England. (What business had the English to go to North America, where the Red Indians did not want them? Again the answer is not clear, but it is quite clear that, if they had not gone, there would have been no United States of America.) What business had David

Intrusion
into other
peoples'
lands.

Livingstone to wander into Central Africa, which did not belong to him, and come home to raise a crusade against slavery and slave-trade in Central Africa? It was not his business, it was the Africans', yet his was one of the noblest works to which man ever set his hand.

Let us look a little further at this matter of intruding into and taking other peoples' lands. What constitutes peoples' lands? There have been some very few lands which, as far as is known, when first visited by Europeans, had no inhabitants. When the English took Bermuda and Barbados, they took empty islands, though whether Barbados had been inhabited or not is uncertain. There could be no great harm in intrusion of this kind. When they went to Australia, they went to a continent two-thirds the size of Europe, containing a very small number of very low-grade natives. Did the whole of Australia belong to those few natives? Is a continent owned by savage human beings who number, say, less than one to every five square miles, assuming that those human beings are not strong enough to keep out all other human beings? When the English went to North America, they went to a land thinly inhabited by comparatively few Red Indians, for the Indians were far fewer in number than was commonly imagined. Ought those Red Indians to have been allowed to keep all North America as their home and hunting-ground? How could the world have moved on at all? Let us take an instance from our own time. Critics of the late South African War objected to the English intruding into and taking the Transvaal which belonged to the Boers. The war was in 1899-1902. The first Dutchmen went into the Transvaal in 1836 or 1837. The older Boers at the time of the War, men like Kruger, had not even been born in the country. They had conquered it, they were a very

small number in a large territory, with a far more numerous native population than themselves. Did the country belong exclusively to them simply because, though new-comers, they had come in first of white men? What of the native population? What business had the Dutchmen there at all? No doubt there are cases when a country can really be said to belong to a people and when intrusion can safely be condemned. Belgium, lately the most thickly populated country in Europe, emphatically belongs to the Belgians, and German invasion finds no justification out of Germany. Much might be written in criticism of the forcible intrusion of the English and other Europeans into China, and of the insistence that Europeans should be allowed to trade and settle in China. Here was a densely populated part of the earth's surface; the population was more or less homogeneous and in the highest degree industrial, with a very old civilisation, with their own religion, their own social and political system. They desired intensely to keep their country wholly aloof from intruders, to continue their separate ways on their own exclusive lines. What was the justification, it may be argued, for interfering with them and coming like burglars into their home, apart from occasion given by particular incidents or outrages? On the other hand, how is the world ever to move on, if it is partitioned off in water-tight compartments? There is no answer to these questions. Each case stands on its merits, and must be judged of according to the place and the time. The safest test perhaps is that of what is called "beneficial occupation." The world has a right to demand beneficial occupation of all parts of its surface that can be put to good use, and that is one main defence—if defence is needed—of colonisation.

The second question or second form of the same question,

Why did
not the
English
stay at
home ?

as we have given it, is, Why did the English not stay at home in their own island and mind their own business ? Why do not people stay at home ? Because they want to better themselves by going elsewhere. A man from the country comes up to live in London. Why ? In the hope of bettering himself. But for the present purpose, that of trying to understand British colonisation and British Empire, this bettering process may be looked at from two points of view. The main object of the man who moves, of the emigrant, the colonist, may be to make his way into some particular new country which has special attractions for him, or it may be to leave the old country at any cost. In normal times, when there is no great war on hand, hundreds and thousands of men and women leave English ports for lands oversea. Those who go, and who are not making merely temporary trips, are going in the hope of bettering themselves ; some of them have been fairly comfortable at home ; they are going out to this or that land because they think that, under new conditions, they will make more money and rise to a higher position ; others are going because their distress and poverty in England has been so great that their main object is simply to move away to some other land. Take extraordinary times, times of war, of political or religious persecution or both, of industrial revolution and distress ; and note how this motive of wishing to leave home operates. Germany invades and overruns Belgium. A stream of Belgian refugees flows into England. Ancestors of these Belgians, Flemings in past centuries, came to settle in England because of persecution at home. Huguenots came over in numbers from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. What business had these Flemings and Huguenots not to stop at home and be imprisoned and ruined and killed ? It seems that they con-

sidered that under the circumstances they were justified in intruding into other peoples' lands—with the other peoples' consent, it is true—and England may well remember now what strength the incoming Flemings and Huguenots gave to England and English industry. Let us take an instance from an industrial crisis, interesting as illustrating how manifold are the effects of scientific invention. In the ten years or so round the year 1825 the handloom weavers in the North of England and South of Scotland were reduced to starvation by the introduction of machinery which killed the handlooms. The result was a very large emigration to British North America. It was not that the weavers wanted to go to North America, but that they wanted to leave England where they were starving. One answer, then, to the question, Why did not the English stay at home and mind their own business? is, that at certain times and under certain conditions a large number of English men and English women found their homes too hot or too cold to hold them, and that in those homes they had no business to mind. So they went to make new homes elsewhere. For it will be noted that in past times causes like political and religious persecution had the effect of sending men and women over the seas for good and all. Exiles of this kind did not go out for a few years only and then return: they made new homes in far-off lands in permanence. This desire to go away altogether from England was one of the sources, a very important source, of English colonisation, and it was much in evidence in the seventeenth century.

This chapter is headed The Seventeenth Century, Trade and
settlement.
Trade and Settlement. Trade was more especially with
the rich, thickly populated, tropical East. Settlement was
more especially in the thinly populated, undeveloped West.

In North America there was ample room for settlement in a temperate climate; and the climate of the West Indian islands has always been more favourable to white settlement than that of other tropical regions. In North America we find the names of New France, as the French termed Canada, of New England, a name which covered and still covers Massachusetts and the sister States, of Nova Scotia, better known in early days as Acadia. What did the names mean? They meant that it was intended to reproduce the old homes in a new country, that the new country was to be permanently colonised. A rough distinction can be drawn between a sphere of trade and a sphere of settlement, but none the less settlement develops trade, and trade more often than not leads to settlement and to acquisition of territory. This was notably the case in India. At the same time, in some cases, trade has been an obstacle to settlement. The seventeenth century saw the beginning of settlement in Newfoundland; but the English at home, who were interested in the Newfoundland fisheries, the Devon and Dorset merchants, most strongly opposed the development of colonisation in the island, because they wanted to keep it as a preserve for the yearly visits of their fishing fleets. West Africa for many long years meant the slave-trade to England. The English had forts and depots on the coast, but the last thing they wanted—even if the climate would have allowed it—was a settled and civilised West Africa. They wanted to keep West Africa as a hunting-ground, a preserve for slaves. These were notable exceptions to what is none the less a general rule, that trade leads on to territorial acquisition and to settlement of one form or another.

When the seventeenth century opened, in 1603 a Scotchman became King of England as well as of Scotland. When

it closed, a Dutchman, King William III., who died in 1702, was on the throne. In the interval there was a great Civil War, a King was beheaded, a kind of republic was established, which ended in a practical despotism without the name of King. The Stuart Kings were restored, there was another civil rising, the Monmouth rebellion, when West countrymen were slaughtered at Sedgemoor and hung or transported at the hands of Judge Jeffreys. Another revolution followed: the last Stuart King, a Roman Catholic, was driven out, and William and Mary were placed on the throne, Protestantism attaining its final triumph in England. The century for England was essentially a time of internal disturbance and unrest, but was not conspicuous for long-drawn foreign wars. Until William III. became King and united the Protestant forces against France, the chief foreign wars of England during the century were with the Dutch, the great rivals of England for sea power and for trade. It is noteworthy that Cromwell was at one time at war with the Dutch, the former allies of England, at another with Spain, England's and Holland's hereditary foe. Spain was falling, France was rising, and in the long reign of Louis XIV., which lasted from 1643 to 1715, took the place of Spain as the great military Roman Catholic power, dominating or trying to dominate Europe. When the century ended, England had begun her long struggle with France, which did not finally end till the Battle of Waterloo.

Civil war being more characteristic of the century than foreign war, two results followed. On the one hand there were strong motives for going out of England to some new home beyond the seas. On the other hand, the custody of the State was perpetually being transferred from one set of hands to another, and there was therefore rarely any

The
political
features
of
the
seventeenth
century

strong foreign policy. What was done at this time towards making the Empire, was more than ever done by private Englishmen or companies of private Englishmen, not by the British Government. There was much distress among the poor of England in the early years of the century : nonconformists sought for toleration for their tenets ; King and Parliament quarrelled and civil war ensued ; Royalists and Puritans laid heavy hands on each other. Later again, in King James II.'s time, there was once more danger of Roman Catholic ascendancy. It was pre-eminently an age when men of this or that church or party, some at one time, others at another, had good reason for leaving England. Thus there was material for forming colonies, and there was familiar machinery for founding them, the favourite and long-tried English plan of chartered companies.

The colony
of Virginia
founded.

In April 1606 the Virginia Company, of which Richard Hakluyt was a member, received a Royal Patent for the colonisation of North America between the degrees of 34 and 45 north latitude. There were to be two colonies and in effect two companies, one a London company, operating in the southern territories covered by the patent, the other, called the Plymouth Company, in the more northern regions. The London Company, or Virginia Company proper, sent out ships with emigrants, who left England on January 1, 1607. Sailing into Chesapeake Bay, in May they found a suitable site for a settlement on a peninsula on the banks of a river, the James River, and gave it the name of Jamestown. This was the first permanent English settlement beyond the seas, and this was the beginning of the State of Virginia and the United States of America. Michael Drayton has a poem "To the Virginian Voyage," in which he speaks of "Virginia, earth's

only paradise," and these lines show the high hopes with which the venture was started :

Britons, you stay too long,
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale,
Swell your stretched sail,
With vows as strong
As the winds that blow you.

There were to be many trials and tribulations for the English colonists in America ; but when the first one hundred and forty-three emigrants left for Virginia on New Year's Day in 1607, the most sanguine prophet in his most golden dreams would not have foreshadowed the twentieth century greatness of the United States.

The Virginia colony in the first two or three years of its infancy owed its existence largely to the courage and resource of one man, Captain John Smith, and Smith was the man who gave to what had been known as Northern Virginia, the name of New England, a name which was formally adopted in a Royal Charter of 1620. The efforts of the Plymouth Company to establish colonies in the regions assigned to them proved as unsuccessful as Raleigh's ventures at Roanoke, and though the patentees or some of them secured this new Charter, the seeds of British colonisation in New England were sown by other and very different hands. East Anglia and the Eastern Midlands had a large leaven of Nonconformists, small groups of Independents in religion, self-governing Congregations, having no love for Episcopacy, not willing to conform to the rules of the State Church, the Church of England. Persecuted in England, many crossed over to the Netherlands, a haven for Puritans, and among them were a band from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, who in 1608 fled into Holland and settled

for a while at Leyden. Loyal subjects of the King of England, while holding their own religious creed, they obtained permission to settle within the limits covered by the original Charter to the Virginia Company ; and, after various vicissitudes, eventually, in September 1620, one hundred emigrants left Plymouth in a little ship of 180 tons burden. These were the Pilgrim Fathers, and the ship was the *Mayflower*. They reached Cape Cod, and in the middle of December, on the shores of Cape Cod Bay, they founded the settlement of Plymouth or New Plymouth, planting Puritanism, with all its strength and all its shortcomings, democracy, civil and religious freedom, coupled with no little intolerance, deep down in the soil of North America. Other Puritan colonies followed, the greatest of all being Massachusetts, which may be taken to date from the Royal Charter given in 1629 to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England ; and the present great American city of Boston, dating from 1630, recalls the fact that the Lincolnshire port, so prominent in trade in the Middle Ages, was prominent also in the annals of English Puritanism.

There is not space to follow the course of English colonisation along the North Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century ; and the colonies which were then founded are no longer within the circle of our Empire. Older settlements became the parents of younger colonies ; fresh settlements were formed from the Mother Country, differing in kind according to the political or religious colour of the promoters, according to the time when or the places where they were promoted. Maryland, called after Henrietta Maria, Charles I.'s Queen, was founded in 1634 by a Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore, whose name is borne by the chief city of the state. Virginia, New England, Barbados, in addition to the

Mother Country, contributed to settlement in the Carolinas, ^{The} Charlestown dating from 1670. In 1681 the Quaker, William ^{Carolinās.} Penn, conspicuous for religious toleration, though himself a member of a persecuted sect, conspicuous too for respect for native rights, received from King Charles II. a grant of the territory, which from that date bore the name of Penn- ^{Pennsyl-} sylvania: in the next year bands of settlers went out, a vania. considerable proportion being Welshmen, and in 1683 Philadelphia was founded. This colony was largely the offspring of philanthropy, as in the eighteenth century was Georgia. But there was one American colony—a very great one—which was acquired by conquest. This was New York. It had been New Netherlands, a Dutch settle- ^{New York.} ment, though strangely enough the Dutchmen had been first piloted into the Hudson River by the English navigator Henry Hudson; and in or about 1626 New Amsterdam was permanently founded on Manhattan Island, the germ of the mighty city of New York. War between England and the Netherlands led to the surrender of New Amsterdam to the English in 1664, the city and the state being rechristened New York after the Duke of York, not yet James II., to whom his brother, King Charles II., granted the Dutchmen's territory. The treaty of Breda in 1667 confirmed the English in their possession, the Dutch on their side retaining the conquered British West Indian colony of Surinam. In 1673 another war led to the Netherlands regaining for the moment their lost colony, but the peace of Westminster in 1674 once more placed it in English hands. All these colonies that have been named, and others unnamed, were, with the exception of New York, the result of British settlement in North America in the seventeenth century. None of them now belong to England, but most of them were the fruit of British trading enter-

prise, of British love of civil and religious liberty, of philanthropy as well as of pursuit of gain. All these motives called Englishmen over the ocean, all told them not to stay at home.

Quebec.

Alexander
and Nova
Scotia.

North of this Atlantic coast, where all sorts and conditions of Englishmen were making new homes, Frenchmen had begun to settle in Acadia, and planted New France on the banks of the St. Lawrence. In 1608, the year after the founding of Jamestown in Virginia, Samuel Champlain founded the first French settlement at Quebec. A Scotchman being now King of England, Scotchmen begin to play a part in our overseas history. In 1621 William Alexander, a Scottish scholar and courtier, obtained from King James I. a patent covering the Acadian peninsula and more also, the name of Nova Scotia (New Scotland) came into being, and an order of baronets of Nova Scotia. French and English from the first overlapped each other in North America, where there was room and to spare for Great Britain, France, and all their peoples. Alexander issued a pamphlet, under the title, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, to stimulate Scottish colonisation; but his efforts to found New Scotland in Acadia came to nothing. He had, however, a hand in an enterprise which might have led to far-reaching results. In 1627, Charles I. being King of England, there was war, half-hearted war, between England and France, England espousing in some sort the cause of the Huguenots. Alexander joined hands with a syndicate of London merchants, "Adventurers to Canada," and under their auspices a bold English privateer, David Kirke, over-mastered the French in the St. Lawrence, and in 1629 starved out Quebec. Nine years before, in 1620; two English captains, Andrew Shilling and Humphrey FitzHerbert, had of their own motion proclaimed British

First
British
capture of
Quebec.

sovereignty over the shores of Table Bay. Thus in the first days of the Empire the English might have had for their own South Africa and the banks of the St. Lawrence, but it was not to be. Those in power rejected the sovereignty—a barren sovereignty at the time—of the southernmost end of Africa, where in 1652 the Dutchmen planted a permanent settlement. They gave back Quebec to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632.

It must always be borne in mind that the motive which first took Columbus to America, a desire to find a new road to the East, by no means died away with the discovery of America and of the route round the Cape. It was working in one form or another for generation after generation. We have seen how it stimulated voyages to north-west and north-east, how, for instance, Martin Frobisher's Arctic explorations were backed by a Company of Cathay. It operated still in the seventeenth century. French explorers looked to find a way by following up the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. The name *Lachine—China*—borne by the rapids above Montreal, testifies to the quest: the natives of North America have always been known as Indians. Henry Hudson looked for a passage to the east, up the Hudson River, and in the Arctic regions. He was lost in 1610 or 1611, but 1612 saw the incorporation of a "Company of the Merchants of London Discoverers of the North-West Passage," under the patronage of the then Prince of Wales, King James's eldest son, who died before coming to the throne. The East India Company in 1614 contributed to this north-western search: Hudson, Button, Baffin, Foxe, James, left their names in the far north; and though after about 1631 the first stage of Arctic discovery came to an end, discovery, here as elsewhere, led to trade.

The north-
west
passage.

The
Hudson
Bay
Company.

In 1670, in the reign of Charles II., the company which in our annals stands, perhaps, second to the East India Company in historical importance was brought into being. This was the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay."

Newfound-
land.

It has already been stated that our oldest colony, Newfoundland, the one colony which dates back its British allegiance to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, received its first settlers in 1610. In that year "The Treasurer and the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London and Bristol for the Colony or Plantations in Newfoundland" was incorporated, Francis Bacon being one of the members. The venture was mainly a Bristol venture. Bristol had sent out John Cabot to discover these regions: it was altogether fitting that she should be the mother of a colony in the New found land. Accordingly, in this same year Alderman John Guy of Bristol took out a band of settlers and planted them at Cuper's Cove on the shores of Conception Bay. This was the beginning of permanent settlement in our oldest colony.

Bermuda.

In 1609 the Virginia Company received a new charter, and a fleet was sent out with 500 emigrants to reinforce the languishing colony. There was a great storm and the ships were scattered. One of the ships, the *Seaventure*, carried the chief commander of the expedition, Sir George Somers, a West-country man from Lyme Regis in Dorset. The ship was cast up at the Bermudas. Up to that time the Bermudas had no human inhabitants, and were of ill reputation for rock and storm. To Spanish sailors they were known as the Isles of Devils. Their only inmates were pigs, left there by early discoverers, as on other lonely islands. So Drayton writes his humorous lines:

Of the Bermudos the example such
 Where not a ship until this time durst touch.
 Kept as supposed by Hell's infernal dogs,
 Our fleet found there most honest courteous hogs.

A greater poet than Drayton was inspired by the account of the shipwreck at the Bermudas. *The Tempest*, written probably in 1611, with its reference to the "still vexed Bermoothes," tells of a storm and an island which Shakespeare created out of this Atlantic adventure. Somers found his way on to Virginia, but the result of his sojourn on the islands was that they were settled from England in 1612, and that in 1615 a company was formed out of the Virginia Company and incorporated as "The Governor and Company of the City of London, for the Plantation of the Somer Islands."

Let us now look at the West Indies, various islands of which became British colonies in the seventeenth century, and which for some two centuries played a part in the British Empire out of all proportion to their size and out of all proportion to their present importance. We have to bear in mind that islanders were attracted to islands, and that Englishmen, when setting out to fulfil their destiny and make their empire, were confronted with the great power of Spain. A glance at the map will show that the West Indian Islands form an arc over against Central America and the northern coast of South America. Their total area is only a little larger than the island of Great Britain, and three-quarters of it is contained in the two large islands of Cuba and Hispaniola. Of the remaining islands Jamaica is the largest, being rather larger than twice the size of the county of Lancashire. Jamaica lies within the ring, Barbados is slightly outside it. If Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, Porto Rico, and Trinidad be excepted, the islands are many and

The West
 Indies.

very small in size. The Isle of Wight would fill an average place among them. They are not far from the shores of the neighbouring continent, and yet for the most part are not closely adjoining. In their triumphal progress the Spaniards sighted them, named them, claimed them, passed them by, except in the case of the large islands, for to conquerors of a continent these small lands were not worthy of account, nor were they so close to the Spanish Main as to be obviously a source of danger if not kept in Spanish hands. Moreover, some of them were tenanted by sturdy natives, not to be easily blotted out after the hideous and wholesale fashion in which the Spaniards had exterminated the weakly inhabitants of Hispaniola. Of Sir John Hawkins's western voyage in 1564-65 it is written: "We came to an island of the cannibals, called Dominica. . . . The cannibals of that island and also others adjacent are the most desperate warriors that are in the Indies, by the Spaniards' report, who are never able to conquer them." The geographical position of these islands constituted their original attraction and value to the young sea-going peoples of Europe, intent upon breaking down Spanish monopoly and raiding the Spanish towns and ports on the mainland. Here were havens and watering-places for the ships that came over the Atlantic, little footholds from whence to make a further spring. So we read how the Elizabethan sailors touched at one island and another, as they came and went, and before the sixteenth century ended Sir Walter Raleigh had burnt down the *small Spanish settlement in* Trinidad.

As Spain declined, as her enemies grew stronger, Dutch, French, English came in not on passing visits merely but to stay. In 1623 English and French settled side by side in the little island of St. Kitts, arriving, it is said, on

the same day ; and from this nucleus, within ten years, others of the Leeward Islands, such as Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, became scenes of British settlement. From Bermuda came a band of settlers into the Bahamas The Bahamas. about the year 1647 under "The Company of Adventurers for the Plantation of the Islands of Eleutheria, formerly called Buhama in America, and the adjacent Islands," and in 1670 these Bahama islands were granted by Charles II. to Lords Proprietors in England. But two West Indian possessions, acquired in the seventeenth century, stand out beyond the rest, the islands of Barbados and Jamaica. Barbados. British sovereignty over Barbados is said to date from 1605, when the ship *Olive Blossom* called there, and proclaimed King James as King of the empty island. British settlement dates from 1625, when the first colonists arrived. Conspicuously healthy, lying apart from the other islands, with no natives to disturb or be disturbed, from first to last in British hands, Barbados has had a wonderful history. In the latter half of the seventeenth century the white residents numbered at least 120 to the square mile. Colonists themselves, they sent out colonists in their turn, and mindful of England they were mindful also of English liberties, claiming to the full the rights of local self-government. Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1655 by a somewhat blundering expedition sent out by Cromwell and designed to conquer Hispaniola. Jamaica. But it was a notable addition to the Empire, notable not only in respect of the actual value of the island, but also for the fact that the acquisition was made by the direct action of the State when for the moment a determined man was in control, and that the island was a Spanish island in the centre of what had been Spanish seas.

Guiana, on the South American mainland, recalls Sir Guiana.

Walter Raleigh and the search for an Eldorado. It was a scene alike of English adventure and of English settlement. But Raleigh's dreams were shattered, romance flickered out at his death, and British colonisation in these regions, which had made some considerable way, was cut short when in 1667 Surinam surrendered to a Dutch admiral, and, as already told, was by the Treaties of Breda and Westminster, ceded to the Netherlands, as against the cession of New York to Great Britain.

Sugar and
slave
labour.

Having come to the West Indies to prey upon Spain, the English and others stayed in the islands and found out their actual or potential value. The Moors, it is said, brought the sugar-cane to Spain, the Spaniards brought it to America. Whatever was the source of the sugar industry, by the middle of the seventeenth century sugar had become the great product of the British West Indies. The industry called for cheap and plentiful labour, and this labour was to be procured from the other side of the Atlantic, the western coasts of Africa.

West
Africa.

We have noted early English ventures down the West African coast, and the beginning of slave trading by Sir John Hawkins. In 1618 a company was formed for West African trade, entitled the Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa. They are stated to have planted two forts, one on the Gambia, one on the Gold Coast. They trafficked for gold and other produce, not for slaves. Hawkins had learnt at the Canary Islands that "negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola," and he trafficked in the merchandise; but the company of 1618 refused, as Englishmen, to deal in human wares. A second African company was incorporated in 1631, and a third in 1662, "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa." It is very difficult to assign definite dates to the

first British footholds in West Africa, but from 1618 onwards Englishmen and ships were more or less continuously in evidence on the Gambia River, and the permanent connexion of Great Britain with the Gold Coast certainly began with Fort Cormantine on that coast, established by the company of 1618. On the Gold Coast the great rivals of the English were the Dutch, who in 1624 built a fort named Nassau at Mouree near Cape Coast Castle, and in 1637 besieged and took the great Portuguese stronghold, the Castle of Elmina, driving the Portuguese entirely from the Gold Coast. There was no European colonising on this coast in any true sense. One nation and another planted a fort, and the rival forts stood side by side. At Accra, for instance, the present capital of the Gold Coast colony, English, Dutch, and Danes all had forts or factories. Elmina became the Dutch headquarters on the Gold Coast, and the main English centre was at Cape Coast Castle. English and Dutch fought on the Gold Coast, English and French farther north in Senegambia, and all were tainted with the slave trade.

The Portuguese first made West Africa known to Europe, and, when the newly-discovered world was partitioned between Portugal and Spain, the ownership of West Africa was confirmed to Portugal. Masters of the lands from which slave labour was derived, the Portuguese carried slaves across the Atlantic to the Spanish territories in America, as well as to their own possession of Brazil. Up to 1600 they were the main, on any appreciable scale the only European slave traders. In the seventeenth century the Dutch, their foes and trading rivals, ousted them from the Guinea coast, and for some long time the Netherlanders were by far the most prominent slave traders, carrying trade, whether of human beings or of other products, being

The Slave
Trade.

their special *métier*. In all the early years of the history of Barbados the carrying trade of that island, including the importation of slaves, was mainly in Dutch vessels. The English had little part in the dirty business before 1640. From that day they began to some small extent to supply slaves to their own West Indian and American colonies. Then came the Navigation Act of the Commonwealth, directed against the Dutch. The Act was renewed and strengthened after the Restoration, and from 1660 onwards the slave trade in British vessels grew rapidly. The African company of 1662 contracted for an annual export of slaves to the British West Indies, and by the end of the century some 20,000 negroes or more were carried annually in British ships across the Atlantic. There were two branches of the slave trade; nations which had footholds in West Africa and had also colonies in America and the West Indies wanted to supply slave labour to those colonies, and naturally, when able to do so, carried these slaves in their own ships. On the other hand, there was the case of Spain which owned large possessions in tropical America but had no lot or part in West Africa. The gainful process of supplying Spanish America with slaves became a prize for which other European peoples contended, and the *Assiento* or contract with the Spanish government to supply the required annual number played a great part in the politics of the eighteenth century. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the English secured the contract, and from this date onwards they may be said to have headed the list of slave-trading nations, until the iniquity was finally abolished by Act of Parliament in 1807. It has been said in the Introduction that it is not fair to judge the deeds of the past in the light of the present: the English were only one among several sinning peoples: Portuguese, Dutch,

French, Danes, all who could, were slave traders. The labour which the slave trade supplied was necessary for the economic development of the West Indies and the tropical and subtropical parts of the American continent ; but, look at it as we will, the slave trade was wholly infamous. The English knew the sinfulness of it, for they reprobated slave trading in earlier and cleaner years, before the actual trade and the plantation system which it supported proved so profitable, before familiarity with human suffering bred contempt. The horrors of the Middle Passage would have been horrible in any century. In the course of Empire-making the slave trade was the worst crime which the English ever committed.

Negro slavery in the West Indies and what are now Slavery. the Southern States of North America was the outcome of the slave trade. Bad as it was morally, and economically unsound, the slave system was almost universal wherever white men were planted in tropical lands and could procure slaves. It prevailed in the East as well as in the West, though it was in the West that it attained its greatest dimensions. With the plantation system and the exploiting of the negro race there came in some sort a new phase of slavery, but from all times the world had been accustomed to servitude in one form or another. Still, it is perfectly true that, if the English had never gone over the seas, they would have had little or nothing to do with slavery, and nothing at all with slave trading, since the days when Bristol exported slaves to Ireland. Slavery and the slave trade, therefore, must be put to the debit side of the Empire, bearing in mind—as it is fair to bear in mind—that, while sinning in these matters, the English sinned in company with other nations, and that, if they were specially prominent, it was not because they were peculiarly sinful, but because

the qualities which carried them far in nobler paths carried them far also in the pursuit of gain.

Transporta-
tion.

In connexion with the West Indies we will notice yet one more blot upon the overseas history of England. Francis Bacon, in his Essay "Of Plantations," wrote that, "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked, condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant." Neither those who went before him nor those who came after him acted upon his advice, for transportation in one form or another played a great part in the story of the British Empire. Here again the English only acted as other people acted, and a far better case might be made out for transportation at certain times and in certain places and under certain conditions than for slavery. There were many phases of it. Cabot, Martin Frobisher, Raleigh recruited, or were allowed to recruit, convicts for their overseas ventures. When Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 went on his embassy to India for the East India Company, the vessel landed condemned men from Newgate at the Cape; and in the seventeenth century Virginia, the Carolinas, and the West Indies received a large number of bondservants from the English gaols, political prisoners as well as actual criminals. A Transportation Act was passed in the reign of Charles I. To Jamaica Cromwell ordered the transportation of "all known idle masterless robbers and vagabonds, male and female" in Scotland. Montserrat was largely settled by Irish Roman Catholics. Monmouth's rebellion led to the transportation of a number of West-country Protestants. In the eighteenth century the philanthropist Oglethorpe settled Georgia from the debtors' prisons in England; and, as we all know, in the last years of that century the history of the great British Commonwealth of Australia began with transportation. The abuses of which

the system was capable, and which were proved to have flowed from it, in due course led to its abolition, but it was not till the reign of Queen Victoria that public opinion fully endorsed Bacon's words that the planting of colonies with condemned men is an unblessed thing.

We have seen that the East India Company received their Charter from Queen Elizabeth on December 31, 1600. They lost no time in turning it to account. In 1601 a little squadron of five ships was sent out under the command of James Lancaster, who had already sailed to the East in 1591. His chief pilot was John Davis, who had also lately been in the Eastern seas, piloting a Dutch vessel. The Spice Islands, the lands whence came pepper and cloves and nutmegs, islands of solid value and of almost mythical repute, these, the East Indian Archipelago, not the mainland of India, were the great attraction in early days alike to English and to Dutch. Lancaster visited Sumatra and Java, where he planted a factory at Bantam, and the success of the voyage stimulated further ventures. The second voyage was again to the Spice Islands. The third voyage, however, which was undertaken in 1606, was directed to India. For a full century the Portuguese had monopolised the East, and bitterly they resented the incoming of traders from northern Europe. But in 1612, attacked at sea off the port of Surat, the English signally defeated the Portuguese, and the fruit of their victory was that they were allowed in that year by the Mogul Emperor to establish a factory at Surat. There were some twenty years or more of further friction between the old-established European power in India and the upstart English company, then a local agreement in India, and, a few years later, a formal treaty between England and Portugal put an end to hostilities. From 1642, the date of the treaty, down to the present

The East
India
Company.

Portuguese
opposition.

day there has been unbroken peace between the two nations.

Dutch
opposition.

Far more dangerous, from their strength and pertinacity, alike to Portuguese and to English in the East, were the Dutch. They, not the English, broke to pieces the Portuguese power in the Indies. In India itself they drove the Portuguese from this point and from that; they cleared them out of Ceylon; they took Malacca, the Portuguese headquarters in the Malay Indies, and shattered the supremacy of Portugal in the East Indian Islands; they hunted them out of Formosa in the China seas. Almost as bitter was their opposition to the English, interlopers like themselves. Their bitterness culminated in the islands, whose trade both nations coveted, and where the Massacre of Amboyna was perpetrated in 1623, a murder in peace time, with every accompaniment of torture, of the English factor and members of his following. No reparation was made for this outrage until the strong days of Oliver Cromwell.

Trading
stations of
the East
India
Company.

From this date, though the English still retained stations in the islands, here they never came up to the level of the Dutch. In India, on the other hand, amid numberless difficulties at home and abroad, they made through the century constant and steady progress. Their first factories were at Masulipatam on the eastern side, at Surat on the west, Surat being the principal factory in India, prior to the acquisition of Bombay. By the end of the century factories or agencies had been planted up and down both sides of India, in Bengal, as far inland as the Mogul capital of Agra, and farther still, Lahore. Outside India, at one time or another or all the time, there were English factories at Mocha in Arabia; in Persia and the Persian Gulf, at Gombroon, Bushire, and Bussorah or Basra, which the present war has placed in English hands. They were to be

found in Pegu and Siam, at Patani and Kedah in the Malay Peninsula, at Bantam in Java, at Bencoolen and other points in Sumatra, at Macassar in Celebes, at Banda and Pulo Roon in the Moluccas or Spice Islands proper; on the great island of Borneo; in China, notably at Canton; even for a short time in Japan, first made known to Englishmen through William Adams, pilot of a Dutch ship which came through the Straits of Magellan and reached Japan as early as 1600. It might almost be said that, wherever British trade now runs in eastern lands and seas, the seeds of it were to be found in the seventeenth century.

Trade, we have said, usually leads on to acquisition of territory. These were early days for the East India Company, yet, before the seventeenth century ended, they had become on a small scale land owners in India. Their first territorial acquisition was the site for a fort where the city of Madras now stands. From its native owners, Francis Day, one of the Company's officers, procured a piece of land whereon to build a fort in the year 1639-1640. The fort was built and named Fort St. George, and Madras is its witness to-day. How reluctant the directors of the Company were to enter into ventures of this kind for fear of expense, is shown by an entry in the Company's books under the year 1641. "Francis Day blained to be the first projector of the fort of St. George. The work begun by Francis Day and paid for out of the Company's cash." The second acquisition was the result of a royal marriage. In 1661 Charles II.'s Portuguese queen, Catherine of Braganza, brought Bombay to her husband in her dowry, and in 1668-69 the King handed it over to the East India Company to be held in freehold at a farm rent of £10 a year. In 1690 the site of Fort St. David at Cuddalore on the Coromandel coast was bought from the Mahrattas;

Territorial
acquisition

Madras.

Bombay.

Fort St.
David.

Calcutta and the Company finally obtained formal possession of the ground, or part of the ground, on which the city of Calcutta now stands in 1700, the first connexion of the English with the native villages, which were the predecessors of Calcutta, dating from 1686, and the building of Fort William at Calcutta from 1696. Thus in this century the Company acquired the bases of what, till the recent transfer of the capital of India to Delhi, were under the English régime the three capital cities of India. They acquired them honestly or comparatively honestly, not by armed force but by sale or lease or grant. It was a case of trade leading on to ownership of the soil.

St. Helena. Far away from India they made a very different acquisition, the island of St. Helena. The record of this little lonely island in the middle of the South Atlantic was bound up with the voyages to the East Indies round the Cape, or rather with that of the return voyages from India. For it lies in the track of the trade winds blowing from the south-east, and the sailors when leaving the Cape on their homeward voyages from India would say that "they would sleep till they came into St. Helen's Road." When the following wind brought them to the island, there they found food and water and a health-giving climate. The Portuguese once owned the island; the Dutchmen held it for a few years, before they planted themselves permanently at the Cape in 1652; and then the English East India Company came into possession. In the course of the succeeding Dutch wars the Hollanders twice took the island, in 1665 and 1673, but in either case were driven out again within a few months, and St. Helena belonged to the East India Company down to the year 1834, when, by an Act passed in the previous year, it was transferred to the Crown:

A recital of names and dates can give no picture of the

resourcefulness, energy, and patience by which a handful of Englishmen, little by little, toilsomely, painfully laid the foundations of the British Indian Empire ; and, greatly as these qualities were needed in India, they were no less needed at home. The Company had to face commercial jealousy and rival associations, they had to deal with and to suffer at the hands of King and Parliament alike, they had to keep as far as possible an even keel in the troubled waters of civil war. They were pitted against unscrupulous competition, they worked in unscrupulous times ; it is idle to criticise the means which from time to time they employed, or the tools which from time to time they used. They traded at first in separate voyages, on the lines of a regulated company, various members clubbing together to meet the expenses of the particular ship or ships, but from the year 1612 the joint-stock system came in and gradually prevailed. The success of the first voyage stimulated private adventurers, and more formidable competition arose when, at the end of 1635, King Charles I. gave a grant to trade in the East Indies to one of his courtiers, from which grant was developed a new company, known as Courtens' Association, Sir William Courten, a London merchant, being the principal promoter. This Company established rival agencies in India and traded also with Madagascar, and twenty years passed before, under a new charter given by Cromwell in 1657, they were finally absorbed in the old Company. In the latter years of the century the opposition in England to the monopoly which the Company enjoyed grew stronger and stronger. The leaders of the Company bribed but bribed in vain, and in 1698 another new Company was incorporated, "The English Company trading to the East Indies," three years grace being allowed to the old Company, after which date their rights were to lapse. ~~But~~ *But*

The East
India
Company
at home.

possidentes. The old Company fought hard for their existence in England and in India, and the end of it was that, beginning in 1702 and ending in 1708, a combination took place from which emerged "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," from that time onward famous to all time as the Honourable East India Company.

The East India Company from the outset was formed for trade, but it represented the English nation in India, as in earlier times the Merchant Adventurers had been styled "the English nation beyond the sea." The more civil war rent England asunder, the more important was this company of traders, standing, so far as they were a company, not for King or for Parliament, not for this King or for that King, but for trading interests which directly or indirectly were a national concern; and, as years went on, more than trading interests dawned upon the horizon. Even in early days, when Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 was sent by and on behalf of the Company to the Court of the Mogul, he went also as the accredited representative of the English King, just as the Levant Company provided an English ambassador at Constantinople. Later in the century we find the Directors foreshadowing what the future had in store, over and above the increase or decrease of annual dividends. In the year 1689 they passed a resolution: "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India." Why did the English go to India? Because trading enterprise was in their blood, because other European peoples had gone and were going, because they found trade profitable for themselves and profitable for their country, because they preferred to bring the produce of the East to

Why did
the English
go to
India?

England in their own ships to depending upon foreigners. Why were they not content to trade only instead of taking other peoples' lands? Because trade inevitably leads on, in semi-civilised lands, to settlement and ownership; because trade was not secure without soil which could be defended and from which the occupants could not be evicted at will; because the native owners of the soil, whether their title was good or bad, whether they were cajoled or not, were willing to sell or to grant what the incomers wanted. What good came from it to the rank and file of Englishmen? They received a constant and growing supply of what the East could give and England could not produce; a thriving overseas trade stimulates employment at home; and, if there had been none of these things, the merchants who sent ships to India, the factors and clerks who served in India, the sailors who worked the ships, the artificers who built them, were all, for good or for bad, obeying a national instinct and serving a national destiny.

Of the cities and ports of England in the seventeenth century there is no very special feature to record, bearing upon the particular subject of this book. London became more than ever the dominating centre of England, the heart and home of overseas enterprise, the headquarters of nearly all the great merchant companies. Among the western ports Bristol and Plymouth stood out. Newfoundland, West Africa, and the West Indies brought gain to Bristol merchants and employed Bristol ships. Plymouth, we have seen, gave its name to a company and to the first settlement in New England. All the south-western ports were busy with the Newfoundland fisheries—Bristol, Bideford, and Barnstaple, Falmouth, Fowey, St. Loe, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and other South Devon ports, Weymouth, and

*The English
ports.*

Liverpool.

especially Poole in Dorset. Outside the west and south-west of England, Southampton, London, and even Yarmouth took a part in this fishing trade. Liverpool was still of no great account, all its infancy being overshadowed by Chester. It was not till the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton gave a new birth to the Lancashire cotton industry through their inventions, and when the Southern States of North America began to pour into the Mersey constantly growing supplies of cotton, that it began to be the Liverpool of to-day. Still, in the year 1646 it was styled "the prime haven" in all Lancashire; it had a large and increasing Irish trade; and in a celebrated Act of Parliament of 1663, an "Act for the encouragement of trade," it finds a place in connexion with the trade of the Isle of Man. The Cinque Ports, with the exception of Dover, had long fallen from their high estate, left behind by history as by the receding sea. Yet the Narrow Seas which they had kept wanted keeping as much as ever, never more so than when, as even in the present day, enemy's guns were heard off the eastern and the Channel coasts, when Dutchmen burnt English shipping in the Thames, and Frenchmen beat Dutch and English off Beachy Head.

The Navy.

But the keeping of the seas, narrow and wide, had become as never before the nation's care, and the fighting ships were no longer partly the private property of the King, partly the levies of various ports gathered for the moment at the King's command. The last illustration of the mediaeval system was in 1626, when, at a time of war with Spain, the ports sent ships at the King's call in the old-time fashion.

Ship-money.

We trace the beginning of the new order in Charles I.'s memorable attempt to raise ship-money, the arbitrary tax against which John Hampden stood forth. It was in effect

an attempt to secure money rather than ships for naval purposes, and to extend to all the inland counties of England the burden which had in former days fallen only on the ports and the coast-line. In a bad and mischievous way it was yet the beginning of making the Navy the concern of the whole nation. It was a national concern in the time of the Commonwealth. More than half the very small national revenue was then expended on the Navy, and in Blake, soldier converted into sailor, as were also Rupert and Monk, England found an admiral who was equal to the new call of the new time.

From the days of the Commonwealth, too, we date the beginning of what is known as the Mercantile System, the adoption of a policy of preference and protection in the interests or supposed interests of the nation as a whole, on much the same grounds that in our own times a similar policy has been adopted by Canada, protection of English industries and products, encouragement of English shipping. We have seen that Navigation Acts had already been passed in earlier years, but the Navigation Act of 1651 was the first act which initiated a continuous and wholesale policy. It followed on an Act of 1646, which gave preference to English shipping, by providing that goods sent to the colonies in English ships should be free of duty. The Act of 1651 prohibited the introduction into England, Ireland, or the English colonies of the goods of any country in Asia, Africa, or America, except in English ships, built and owned by Englishmen (including ships built and owned in the English colonies), commanded by Englishmen, and principally manned by English sailors. It prohibited, too, the importation into England of goods from Europe, except in English ships or in the ships of the country which produced them. The Act was directed against the carrying trade of

The Navigation Acts and the Mercantile System.

the Dutch : it embodied commercial war, and it led to actual war. It dealt with ships and navigation, but it was the forerunner of more. An Act of 1660, one of the first Acts of the Restoration, "an Act for the encouragement and increasing of shipping and navigation," carried the policy further. Exports from the colonies, as well as imports into the colonies, were to be carried only in the ships of the nation, and various articles were to be shipped only to English possessions. Three years later the system was again extended by the Act of 1663, "for the encouragement of trade," to which reference has already been made.

In truth, so far as Government was concerned, the encouragement of trade was the keynote of this century, the century of trade and settlement. Government permitted settlement, but did little to support or control it ; it fostered and protected trade. Settlement in the eyes of the rulers of England was merely the handmaid of trade ; no office came into existence at this time answering to our present Colonial Office, whose special concern, for good or ill, should be the care and the management of colonies. There were spasmodic boards and committees to handle colonial questions, and even when some more permanent agency for the purpose was in 1696 established by King William III., trade was still the governing factor, and the agency was the Board of Trade and Plantations. Many years afterwards the colonial reformer, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, summed up the beginnings of the British Empire in these roughly accurate words : "All the early colonies of the English were allowed to govern themselves from the beginning, with this single exception, that the mother country reserved to herself a monopoly of the foreign trade of the colony."

The Board
of Trade
and Planta-
tions.

Planta-
tions.

But, while the State was little concerned with settlement in this century, and largely for that very reason, the time

was pre-eminently one when colonisation was carried out in the most *bona fide* sense and form. The word Plantation tells the tale. The old English view of a colony was the planting of people in a new soil, and planted they were in the seventeenth century. Nothing could be more wholesome than Francis Bacon's views on Plantations, or those which are set forth in Fuller's *Holy State*, and which may well have been adopted from Bacon. Bacon's objection to penal colonisation has already been quoted. Here is what Fuller says on the same subject: "Let the Planters be honest, skilful, and painful people. For if they be such as leap thither from the gallows, can any hope for cream out of scum?" Both men plead for fair dealing with native races. "I like a plantation in a pure soil," writes Bacon, "that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation." Fuller commends the case "when new colonies come not in with extirpation, for this is rather a supplanting than a planting," and he urges that the colonists should "use all just bargaining" with the natives, "being as naked in their dealings with them as the other in their going." Both writers hold that young colonies should be unfettered. "Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution." This is Bacon's advice. Fuller follows suit: "Young Plantations will never grow if straitened with as hard laws as settled Commonwealths." These were views held in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Navigation Act had not yet been passed, the Mercantile System was still in the future, the Atlantic seaboard of North America was being planted under little

state control. It would have been well in later days had such wise words been better heeded, if those who guided state policy in England had thought a little less of trade, a little more of Plantation.

It has been emphasised that past ages cannot be fairly judged by the standard and in the light of our own. Bearing this in mind, it is none the less instructive to note the part which the Commonwealth and Cromwell played in regard to the coming Empire. At a time—the only time in English history—when democracy developed into dominant republicanism, the only time when Nonconformity triumphed completely, more than half the national revenue was spent upon the Navy, a national policy of commercial exclusion in sea-going traffic was initiated and stoutly upheld, and, for the first time, a colony was added to the Empire which had been taken from another European nation by force of arms.

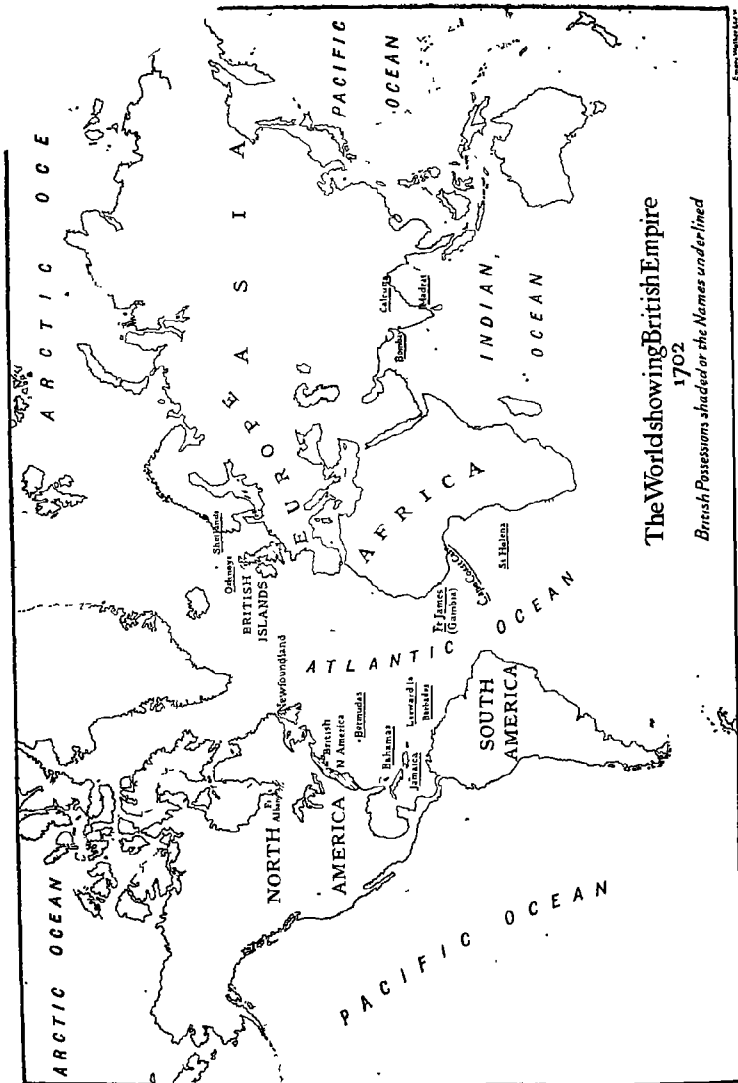
CHAPTER III

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Century of War

THE present chapter covers the period from the accession of Queen Anne in 1702 down to the battle of Waterloo in 1815. As the British Empire widens out, it is necessary, in telling the story in limited space, to deal with the leading features only and to omit details. In the making of the Empire this time stands out as an age of foreign war, and as an age in which the direct action of the Government was far more in evidence than in the previous century. The eighteenth century.

Within the British Isles civil wars were over and done with, except for the two abortive Jacobite rebellions and occasional risings in Ireland. It is true that there was another change of dynasty. England again went outside for her Kings, and brought over George I. from Hanover. Thus English and Germans came into line, as William III. had before linked Great Britain with the Netherlands. But there was no revolution involved in the Hanoverian Succession. It was a Succession based on distant kinship, not a root and branch reversal of the old order. There was, in short, continuity in the headship of the nation, in strong contrast to the kaleidoscopic changes of the seventeenth century ; and, moreover, from the time when William III. The United Kingdom.



was King, monarchy became or was becoming monarchy as we now know it in England, constitutional monarchy, the advisers of the King being the leaders of the predominant party in the nation, Whigs or Tories, Liberals or Conservatives. Robert Walpole, Chatham, and his son William Pitt the younger were not merely the King's agents, they were, as ministers now are, the recognised guides and rulers of the people. Early in the period, in 1707, England and Scotland, already under one King, became one nation under one Parliament. Late in the period, in 1800, the Union of England and Ireland was effected, and the British Isles became, at any rate in name, the United Kingdom.

It was a time of foreign war. There were, no doubt, considerable intervals of peace, notably when Walpole was Prime Minister; but, taken as a whole, this century was pre-eminently a century of fighting. Further, though there were many wars with many peoples, the one main enemy of England was France, and in the latter part of the time the wars between England and nations other than France were chiefly due to the fact that these nations were dominated by and followed the lead of France. There was one great war, which was of the nature of a civil war, the War of American Independence. In this case Englishmen were fighting one another, but here too France took a hand, and contributed greatly to the final outcome of the war.

The old question, Why? rises again. What justification was there for England to be perpetually fighting against a foreign nation, and that nation her near neighbour? What was her object? What did she gain from it? There is only the old answer to be given, that mixed motives were operating, more noble and less noble motives; a sense of national insecurity if another European nation, especially the nearest of the continental nations, became too strong;

Foreign
war.

England
and France.

Causes
of war.

instinctive perception of the path along which power and riches were to be sought; a higher instinct which told that England should take arms for political and religious freedom; a constant call to the race from its connexions and its interests over the seas, a call which older times had not known. Why are we at war with Germany? First and foremost because of our pledges to maintain the independence of Belgium; secondly, to prevent a great and noble nation, France, our enemy of old times, our friend of many years' standing, from being reduced to vassalage to Germany; thirdly, because we realise the imminent and deadly danger to ourselves should Germany prevail. There is a memorable saying of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, that revolutions start from small causes though they have great objects. His words apply also to a great extent to foreign wars. In all wars, at the present day as in the eighteenth century, there is some immediate and particular cause or causes which operate at the particular time, some treaty, some incident. In the eighteenth century kings and their marriage connexions and their dynastic intrigues played a more prominent part than would now be possible, though it will be remembered that the proximate cause, the immediate occasion, of the Franco-German War of 1870, was a question of Spanish succession, even as it was the proximate cause of the mighty struggle in which the Duke of Marlborough broke the armies of Louis XIV.

The Anglo-French wars of the eighteenth century.

(i.)
The War of the Spanish Succession.

This was the first great Anglo-French war of our period. It was a continuation of the war on which William III. had entered in 1689. The Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 gave a breathing space. In 1702 it broke out again as the War of the Spanish Succession, and it ended with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The immediate cause of England being involved in the war of 1689 was that Louis XIV. had

given his support to the exiled Stuart King, James II., against his own most determined enemy, the Dutchman who took King James's place upon the English throne. The immediate cause of England being again involved after the Treaty of Ryswick was that, contrary to the terms of that treaty, Louis recognised King James's son as rightful King of England. But behind it all England stood, as she stands now, against an attempt of a continental power to establish a military domination over Europe and thereby over the possessions of European peoples. The fight was one against a military despotism which threatened the world; and in the time of Louis XIV. it was also a fight for Protestantism against militant and persecuting Roman Catholicism; for the year 1685 was the year of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with its sequel of Huguenot immigration into England.

Among other wars with France, the middle war of the century, the Seven Years' War, which ended with the great Peace of Paris in 1763, was of the utmost importance to the British Empire. England went into the war to fight it out with France for supremacy in West and East. On the continent of Europe her ally was Frederick the Great of Prussia, and then grew up the bond between England and Prussia which was cemented at Waterloo, and which has been severed in the same Belgian land where Wellington and Blücher fought side by side. The battle of Minden, glorious and memorable in the annals of the British infantry, is a reminder that in this Seven Years' War English soldiers were fighting on the continent. English money was forthcoming to support the Prussian king, as it was forthcoming to support the continental enemies of Napoleon, and as it is forthcoming now to aid the Allied cause. But it was in America, and in India,

(ii.)
The Seven
Years' War

and on the high seas, that England played her leading part.

(iii.) .
The
Napoleonic
wars.

The last of the French wars in the period under review was the war with Napoleon, in which the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 made a break, parallel to that made by the Treaty of Ryswick. In the Napoleonic wars religion no longer played a part, but England was once again in arms against an attempt at universal military despotism, as she was a century before and as she is a century later, the battleground where Marlborough fought Ramillies and Oudenarde in 1706-8, where Wellington fought Waterloo in 1815, where the English are now holding their trenches, being one and the same, the war-scarred, well-tilled fields of Belgium.

The effect
of distance
on war and
peace.

In the first chapter it has been noted, and it is self-evident, that war with another nation implies war with that nation all the world over ; but, on the other hand, in order to appreciate the story of the British Empire, we have to take careful note of place and time, and especially to bear in mind the conditions which prevailed before the days of scientific invention, when there were no steamers, no submarine cables, no wireless telegraphy. War or peace in Europe did not necessarily mean war or peace in America or in India. In 1754, two years before France and England went formally to war, George Washington was fighting Frenchmen on the Virginian and Pennsylvanian frontier. On the same frontier, in 1755, General Braddock's force was annihilated by French and Indians. In the same year, 1755, William Johnson repulsed French and Indians near Lake George. All this was preliminary to the Seven Years' War. Similarly in India, between the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, French and English were fighting one another, though here they fought ostensibly as allies of native competitors and as representing

rival companies more than rival nations. Even when there was formal war between nations, distance and slowness of communication prevented consistent action all the world over. At the very end of our period, in the second American war, the battle of New Orleans was fought in January 1815, more than a fortnight after the Treaty of Ghent had been signed, which put an end to the war. On the other hand, there were from time to time local conventions or attempts at local conventions in West or East, between rival colonists or rival companies, not necessarily corresponding to the relations between the Governments to which the colonists or companies owed allegiance. In the seventeenth century, in the early days of French and English in the West Indian island of St. Kitts, it was agreed in the island that war between France and England should not necessarily mean war between French and English colonists on the spot. In North America there was a proposal in the middle of that century that New England and Canada should be at peace, even though the mother countries were at war. We have seen how the treaty between England and Portugal of 1642 was anticipated by a Convention in India in 1634 between the head of the East India Company's factory at Surat and the Portuguese governor-general at Goa, and that Convention put an end to fighting in India, which fighting had no counterpart in Europe.

It is very important, too, to bear in mind not only how events which took place in one part of the world affected other distant parts—that has always been the case—but how they affected them without what may be called full cognisance. Such advantages as accrued to England from the Peace of Utrecht were due to Marlborough's previous victories at Blenheim and in the Low Countries; the provisions of the peace, as will be seen, substantially

strengthened the English position in North America ; but meanwhile in North America the mother country's efforts had been mainly signalised by a most ignominious failure, in 1711, of an expedition intended to take Quebec. Thus the colonists witnessed the failure, whereas the successes, by which they as a matter of fact profited, had been won far away. In 1745 the New Englanders achieved a great triumph. Aided by a small British squadron, they besieged and took Louisbourg, the main French stronghold in North America. Three years later, in 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle provided for mutual restitution of conquests. The French regained Louisbourg ; the English regained Madras, which had been taken by the French. But what did the New Englanders reck of Madras ? The peace, in their eyes, took from them what their own arms had won, and left them to be still threatened by the fortress which they had captured. Here critics of the Empire may find ground for criticism. A country which has no overseas possessions has nothing to exchange, and runs no risk of giving offence by the process of exchange. A power which has possessions all the world over, when peace comes after war, weighs North against South and East against West, and strikes a balance between gain and loss. Until the overseas possessions enter into full partnership in a world-wide concern, can take stock of the whole and not merely of their own immediate surroundings, and can make their voice felt in the general settlement, there must be ground, well or ill founded, for soreness and resentment.

The 18th century a time of direct action by the State.

The eighteenth century was a time of war. It was also, mainly because it was a time of war, pre-eminently an age when the direct action of the State contributed to the making of the British Empire. Most of the many colonies and dependencies acquired in this age were the fruits of

war, were conquered from or ceded by other European nations. We took toll from France and Spain, from Holland and Denmark. But there were also peaceful acquisitions in these years, far the greatest of which was Australia. This again was the work of the Government, not of private citizens, not of companies. The earliest English settlement in Australia was planted by the State.

The first addition to the British Empire in the eighteenth century was at the expense of Spain, during the War of the Spanish Succession. This was the Rock of Gibraltar, taken by a mixed Dutch and British fleet in 1704, and confirmed to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht. It was an acquisition which reflected the character of the age and the character of the people who took it. The fighting time for England opened by taking a natural fortress, of no direct value for trade, of no value at all for settlement, but of the utmost value for a sea-going power on the road to Empire, an all-but-island at the gateway of the inland sea. Among the various component parts of the British Empire, Gibraltar is the typical fortress of a naval power, commanding one of the greatest trade routes of the world. The memorable siege of 1779-83, during which it was held for three years and seven months against French and Spaniards, enhanced its value in the eyes of the English people; and outside the Straits which it commands is the Bay of Trafalgar, where England's greatest sailor fought, conquered, and died.

✍ The Treaty of Utrecht gave to England, in addition to Gibraltar, undisputed possession of Newfoundland, with the reservation to the French—a most dangerous and troublesome reservation—of certain fishing rights; the Acadian peninsula, now Nova Scotia (though not Cape Breton Island, which is at the present day included in Nova

Gibraltar.

The Treaty
of Utrecht.

Newfound-
land.

Scotia); and exclusive sovereignty over the shores of Hudson Bay. It gave her the sole possession of the West Indian island of St. Kitts, which the French had shared; and it gave her the Assiento, the contract for supplying Spanish America with slave labour, to which reference has already been made. French ships went fishing to Newfoundland as early as English ships, for there were no more enterprising sailors and merchantmen than those who hailed from the Breton and Norman ports. Newfoundland lay over against Canada, New France beyond the seas; and about the year 1662, not content with fishing ventures and yearly visits, not regardful of British rights or claims, the French began to settle in Newfoundland. Their chief centre was Placentia, about seventy miles south-west of the main British settlement at St. John's; and in the winter of 1696-97, guided by a noted French Canadian partisan, Le Moyne d'Iberville, the Frenchmen took St. John's, and laid waste the whole ring of British settlements. A fleet and a garrison for St. John's were sent out from England, but twice again in the course of the war the French broke into St. John's, and there was little security for the English settlers until the Treaty of Utrecht.

Hudson
Bay.

Iberville, who was so conspicuous in Newfoundland in 1696-97, had already, in 1686 and 1694-95, raided and taken the forts of the Hudson Bay Company on the shores of Hudson Bay. There was no war in 1686 between England and France, but that mattered little in the far north of America. Yet again in 1697, fresh from his successes in Newfoundland, he gave France the upper hand in the Bay, and the French were dominant on its shores until the Treaty of Utrecht. That treaty put an end to their success. It gave to Great Britain,

“to be possessed in full right for ever, the Bay and Straits of Hudson.”

The Acadian peninsula was the scene of early French settlements in North America. Samuel Champlain had been at work here, before he betook himself to founding Quebec. The principal settlement was at Port Royal on Annapolis Harbour. In Acadia the French were by sea more within striking distance of the English in New England than they were up the St. Lawrence River at Quebec; and the New Englanders, especially the “Bostonnais,” whose enterprise and initiative Canadians had good reason to dread, took Port Royal in 1690. In 1710, with the help of ships and troops from home, they took it again. By the Treaty of Utrecht France ceded to England “all Nova Scotia or Acadie with its ancient boundaries,” and then came the question what were its ancient boundaries, an interminable dispute, leading to, and only solved by, further wars.

Acadia or
Nova
Scotia.

There is little to record of the period between the Treaty of Utrecht and the Seven Years' War. By the middle of the century the English colonists on the North Atlantic sea-board numbered some 1,200,000. A thirteenth colony, Georgia, had been founded in 1732 by the English philanthropist James Oglethorpe. The New Englanders had proved their mettle by taking Louisbourg; and, as the colonies grew in strength, they grew in jealousy of their rights, in restiveness against political and commercial restrictions imposed by the mother country. The West Indies prospered more and more as sugar-producing, slave-owning colonies, West Indian plantation owners, like East Indian nabobs, being the millionaires of the eighteenth century. West Africa was as much as ever, perhaps more than ever, a slave-hunting preserve. In India the East India Company

grew in the face of competition from the French East India Company, and for a while of an Ostend company domiciled in the Austrian Netherlands, in the face, too, of growing native difficulties caused by the break up of the Mogul Empire and the rise of the Mahrattas. They acquired small additions to their small territorial possessions, as in the neighbourhood of Madras; but they lost Madras itself for the moment, in 1746, to Labourdonnais, the able Frenchman whose name is so closely connected with the island of Mauritius. Two years later they recovered it by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The conditions of India, which was in the melting-pot, with rival native dynasties and rival native claimants inviting European aid and intervention, and with a Frenchman on the spot, Dupleix, unrivalled in turning to account natives and native troubles and native intrigues, forced the English merchants, in defence of their commercial interests, into political paths and military ventures; and from the counting-house there came one of the men of the century, Robert Clive.

The Seven
Years' War.

It has been seen that French and English were busy fighting one another in the backwoods of America in the years 1754 and 1755. From Canada the French in the seventeenth century had made their way to the headwaters of the Mississippi, and La Salle, boldest of pioneers, had followed the great river down to its mouth, claiming for the King of France all its lower basin under the name of Louisiana. Settlement at the mouth of the river began at the very end of the century. Iberville carried to the Gulf of Mexico the restless energy which had been so signally shown in Newfoundland and Hudson Bay, and in 1718 the city of New Orleans was founded. Then grew up a great French scheme to hem in the English colonies on the Atlantic sea-board by a French North American Empire,

French and
English in
North
America.

based on the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. A chain of forts was to link the Great Lakes to the upper waters of the Ohio, whence the line was to follow the Ohio to the Mississippi and the Mississippi to the sea. As Dupleix worked for France in India through the natives of India, using native machinery for French purposes, so in North America the native Indians, handled by the French far more tactfully, more unscrupulously than they were by the English, were to subserve Imperial French interests. The scheme was great, but doomed to fail. Two sides of an enormous triangle were to be held against the base, which base was the open sea, and was in the hands of a power always equal to and usually stronger on the sea than France, while the English colonists outnumbered the French in North America in a proportion of something like thirteen to one. The key of the French position was a fort, Fort Duquesne, planted where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers combine to make the Ohio, and here it was that George Washington was beaten back in 1754, when sent by the governor of Virginia to forestall or dislodge the French.

The French
Scheme of
Empire in
North
America.

On the sea-board the French held Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island, given back to them by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and they never ceased to attempt to regain the Acadian peninsula. Here, on the ocean side, the English had strengthened their position by founding in 1749 the city of Halifax, called after Lord Halifax, who was at the time head of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and numbering among its first inhabitants a large body of time-expired soldiers and sailors. But on the opposite side, facing the Bay of Fundy, the population was French, constantly instigated by French emissaries and priests to disloyalty to the British Government. This brought on a

Acadia.

catastrophe in 1755, when the large majority of the Acadians were deported, mainly to the English colonies in North America. The tragic fate of the Acadian settlement at Grand Pré has been immortalised in Longfellow's *Evangeline* :

And with the ebb of that tide, the ships sailed out of the harbour,
Leaving behind them the dead on the shore and the village in ruins.

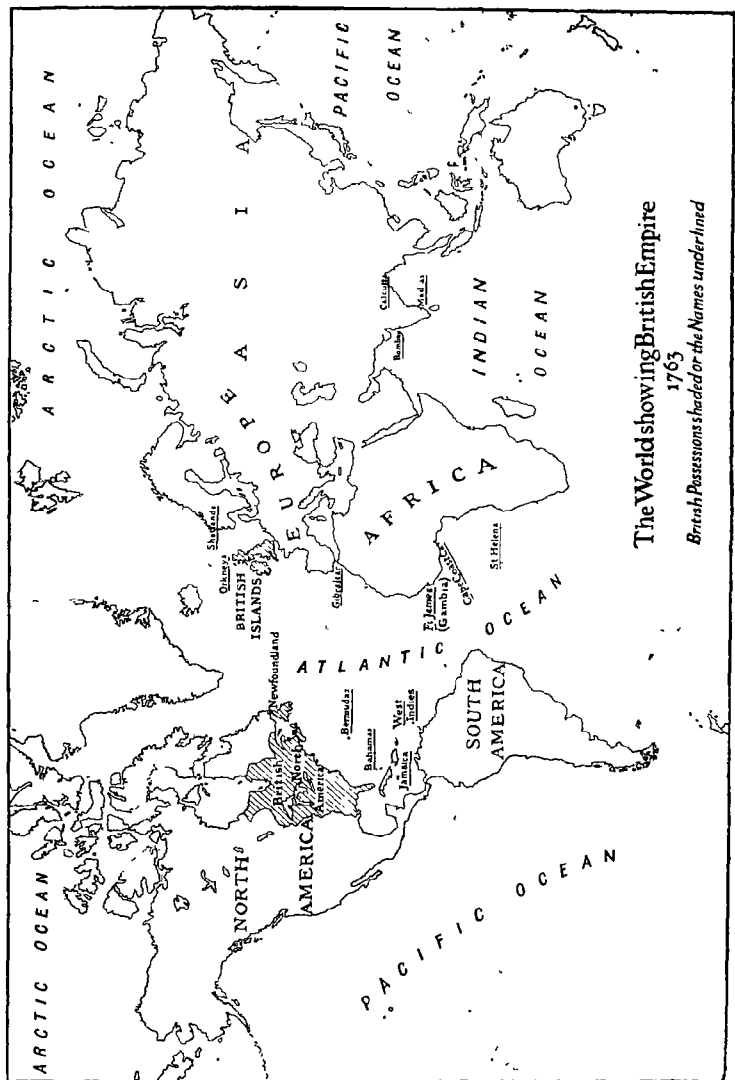
This deportation is one of the incidents in the overseas history of Great Britain which Englishmen would like to forget ; but how overcoloured has been the story, and how strong and persistent had been the provocation, is told, fairly and squarely, by the great American historian Francis Parkman. " Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale expatriation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion had been tried in vain."

Horace Walpole wrote in 1759, " I believe the world will come to be fought for somewhere between the North of Germany and the back of Canada." He wrote in the most memorable year of this Seven Years' War, the year most rich in British successes, the year of the battle of Minden, of the taking of Quebec, and when, amid storm and wind, rocks and shoals, Admiral Hawke annihilated the French fleet in Quiberon Bay. His words, written in jest, contained the kernel of the matter. It was a war in which England, as never before and as hardly ever afterwards, either by the genius of a great statesman, Chatham, or by national instinct, discerned and followed the true path to safety and to greatness by taking the lead on the sea and beyond the sea, and by playing a subordinate part on the continent of Europe, fighting there with the purse more than in kind. Her one ally in Europe was the great Frederick of Prussia.

France, Russia, Austria were combined on the other side. In North America, in 1756 and 1757, all went against the English. Led by a Frenchman, chivalrous, skilled, and brave, the Marquis de Montcalm, the French took the English fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario and Fort William Henry near the southern end of Lake George. In 1758 the English under General Abercromby were repulsed with very heavy loss from Fort Ticonderoga, the Black Watch alone losing 500 men; but, notwithstanding, in this year the tide began to turn. A strong fleet and force was sent out from England, the fleet under Admiral Boscawen, the army under General Jeffrey Amherst; and with Amherst, as one of the brigadiers, went out James Wolfe, only thirty-one years of age, but a soldier from the age of fifteen and already a veteran in active service. These men took Louisbourg by the end of July, and later in the year a force, consisting mainly of colonists but stiffened by a Highland regiment, under the command of a staunch good soldier, Forbes, drove the French from Fort Duquesne. Here, at the point where the French had most threatened the English future in North America, Fort Pitt took the place of Fort Duquesne and grew into the great city of Pittsburg. Wolfe went home to England, and came back in 1759 with a new force and a fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders. Amherst was Commander-in-Chief in North America, but he operated up the line of Lakes George and Champlain, while Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence. Amherst advanced slowly, secured the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and opened the road for a further advance, while a detached force, moving up the line of the Mohawk River, reoccupied Oswego and took the French fort of Niagara. Wolfe, ably seconded by Saunders, came before Quebec at the end of June, battered the town with

The British
Conquest of
Canada.

his guns, tried to dislodge Montcalm's army on the Beauport lines below Quebec between the town and the Montmorency River, and in the second week of September resolved on a night landing at a point slightly higher up than the town, which gave him the victory and cost him his life. On the morning of the 13th of September his troops were on the plateau of the Plains of Abraham, by midday the battle was won, Wolfe was killed, Montcalm was mortally wounded, and on the 18th of September Quebec surrendered. It was held through the winter by a garrison under an admirable soldier, General James Murray, but hardly held, the garrison being badly defeated outside the walls at the battle of Sainte Foy. Relief came out from England in the spring of 1760, and three English forces converged on Montreal, up the St. Lawrence from Quebec, down the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario, and up from Lake Champlain by Chambly and St. Johns. Down the St. Lawrence from the Great Lakes came the main force under Amherst, and on September 8 what was left of the French army and government in Canada finally capitulated with Montreal. By the fourth section of the Peace of Paris in 1763 the French King renounced all pretensions "to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts," and ceded to the English King "in full right, Canada with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence." In Louisiana the Mississippi was made the boundary, except that the town of New Orleans on the eastern bank was left to France. The French fishing rights in Newfoundland, which had been reserved by the Treaty of Utrecht, were unwisely confirmed, and, more unwisely, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France, though as fishing stations only. From Spain England gained under the terms of the



peace Florida and all the Spanish possessions on the North American continent to the east and south-east of the Mississippi, Spain on her side recovering Havana in the island of Cuba, which the English had taken.

Indies. For there had been plentiful fighting in the West Indies, as elsewhere, in the course of this war. The French islands of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, and Martinique were taken by the English, as well as Spanish Havana. The outcome was that, by the Peace of Paris, France recovered Guadeloupe and the sister islands, and that of the smaller islands England secured Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, while France gained St. Lucia with its valuable harbour of Castries. In West Africa the French lost heavily by the war. For the time they were practically driven from the coast, the island of Goree being taken by the English, as well as the other French possessions in Senegambia, the chief of which was Fort St. Louis on the Senegal River. The peace gave back Goree to France, but left to England "the River Senegal with the forts and factories of St. Louis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said River Senegal."

West Africa.

India. Great as this time was in its results upon the fortunes of the English in America, it was almost as fruitful in India. It was the time when Clive placed the English, as represented by the East India Company, once and for all in the position of the predominant European power in India, and raised the Company once and for all from a commercial to a political basis. From the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe in 1707, after a reign of over fifty years, the Mogul Empire, whose capital was at Delhi, faded into the shadow of a power, broken by the fighting Mahratta confederacy, which overmastered Western and Central India. The Viceroys of the Mogul became practically independent rulers, and under

them were lesser rulers, more or less independent according to the strength of the particular men and the support which they received from within or without. In Southern India there was a Viceroy or ruler of the Deccan, with his capital at Hyderabad, and he was overlord of the rulers of the Carnatic on the eastern coast. On that coast the English centres were Madras and Fort St. David. Not many miles from Fort St. David was the chief French settlement in India, Pondicherry, the site of which had been bought about the year 1674. On the Hooghly in Bengal the French had a fort and factory at Chandernagore; and on the Hooghly, too, the Dutch, from the middle of the seventeenth century, had established themselves at Chinsurah. But the Dutch were not formidable in India; they kept their declining strength for the East Indian islands. The French were the great danger to the English in India, working like the English through an East India Company, though the French Company was far more a creature of the State than its English rival. In 1641 Dupleix became Governor of Pondicherry. Gifted in a singular degree with the power which Frenchmen have always possessed in East and West alike of adapting themselves to native races, and ably backed by another Frenchman, the Marquis de Bussy, who gained preponderating influence at the court of Hyderabad, for a while he seemed on the verge of establishing a French-Indian Empire in Southern India. We have seen how Labourdonnais took Madras in 1746. The English profited something by personal antipathy between Dupleix and Labourdonnais, and regained Madras by the Peace of 1748. But Dupleix still went forward, and by the year 1751 well-nigh controlled the Deccan and the Carnatic. Then it was that occasion gave birth to the man, and Clive struck a blow from which the French never recovered. The claimant

for the throne of the Carnatic, whom the English favoured, was besieged and sore pressed in Trichinopoly by the allies of Dupleix, when Clive with a handful of men marched on Arcot, the political capital of the Carnatic, seized the fort and held it, and with Mahratta aid defeated his opponents with Frenchmen fighting in their ranks. This was in the latter months of 1751; and early in 1752, with Major Lawrence, he annihilated the besiegers of Trichinopoly. Dupleix's great scheme was broken up, he himself was recalled to France in 1754, and peace between the two companies—for all the while there was peace between France and England—was negotiated in 1755 by a representative of the French East India Company sent out from home.

In 1753 Clive went home to be honoured by his employers, and returned to India in the latter part of 1755. He came back as Governor of Fort St. David, and took up his post early in 1756. In June of that year the native viceroy of Bengal attacked the English at Fort William in Calcutta; they surrendered, and there followed the hideous tragedy of the Black Hole, burnt into the memory of Englishmen like the massacre of Cawnpore a century later. Clive was again called for, and answered to the call. Sent up to Bengal with Admiral Warren, at the beginning of January 1757 he recovered Calcutta, then drove the French out of Chandernagore, and in June at the battle of Plassey. Plassey. broke to pieces the army of the Nawab of Bengal. Two years later, towards the end of 1759, by his orders, though there was peace between England and Holland, a threatening Dutch squadron, which came up the Hooghly with a force of soldiers on board, was attacked and annihilated. Meanwhile, in 1758, Count de Lally, of Irish descent, came out as French Governor of Pondicherry. Brave, able, and

impetuous, at once he attacked Fort St. David. A strong fort and adequately manned, it was nevertheless most poorly defended: in June the garrison surrendered, and the fort was blotted out. In December Lally was besieging Madras, but here he failed completely, and in January 1760 he was signally defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at the battle of Wandewash. This battle finally settled the question whether English or French should predominate in Southern India. In a year Pondicherry capitulated, and though the French, under the terms of the Treaty of 1763, received back their lost Indian possessions, they never again were serious rivals of the English in India. The treaty indeed provided that they should not erect fortifications or keep troops in Bengal. The English at this time added somewhat to their territorial possessions in India, but what they really gained was undisputed ascendancy as against other Europeans, with its infinite possibilities for the future. There were dark features then and later in their dealings. Empire-makers are not always, not often, perhaps, wholly clean-handed, and many critics have dealt with the shortcomings of Clive. Yet he was the man who founded our Indian Empire, and if that Empire has on the balance stood for human welfare, much may be forgiven to its founder.

Wande-
wash.

A great peace was the Peace of 1763, and might have been yet greater had Chatham still been in power. Exactly twenty years later a very different peace was signed, the Peace of Versailles, which acknowledged the independence of the United States of America. One of the brightest times in all English history was followed immediately by one of the darkest. To years in which English statesmanship shone at home, and English leadership on land and sea, succeeded a gloomy cycle, when there was a wrong-

The War of
American
Inde-
pendence

headed King, short-sighted Ministers, second-rate or half-hearted generals, and, with exceptions, such as Lord Howe and Rodney, even at sea admirals who were not of the best or at their best. On the causes of this civil war it is impossible to enlarge, though a word will be said on the subject in the last chapter. Most unbiassed men, English or Americans, would probably agree that the expulsion of the French from North America removed one potent motive why the colonies should be content to remain under the British flag. Secure from foreign attack, conscious in a growing degree of their strength, conscious in a growing degree of the restrictions which their British allegiance at the time involved, having in the case of New England, at any rate, been cradled in independence, founded by the desire to be out of England, differing from the English at home in social and political conditions, they were essentially at a stage in their history to be handled with wise and sympathetic statesmanship. The mother country had beyond question right on her side in demanding that they should pay part of the heavy bill for their defence, but equally beyond question those who had the guidance of the mother country damaged their case by unwise and high-handed measures. So the rupture came: the struggle was interpreted as a fight for freedom against oppression, when in truth there was but the shadow of oppression: Edmund Burke pleaded the colonists' cause in England: Lafayette went out from France to fight for it: and from the British West Indies the revolting colonies gained Alexander Hamilton. Personalities count for much at a crisis of this kind. Chatham's day was past: small men held office in England. The army had no Wolfe; and, if Wolfe had lived, we may well believe that his heart would not have been in a fight against those who had been side by side with him when the issue

was between England and France. The colonists for their part had a leader of men second to none in history, George Washington.

The result of the war was the greatest loss to be chronicled in the overseas history of England. Yet from it there arose the Empire which we have to-day. Had the North American colonies remained with us, Canada must have been absorbed in the far greater adjoining British colonies, whence the incoming Loyalists peopled Ontario and New Brunswick. Australia might not have been occupied at all, or, if occupied, would have been wholly overshadowed. There would have been a widely different story to tell, and the centre might not have been in England.

By the Peace of Versailles in 1763 the thirteen colonies were declared to be free sovereign and independent states, and a boundary line was drawn which was to cause friction at intervals for fully a hundred years. In the West Indies Great Britain parted with the island of Tobago to France, and in West Africa with the Senegal. In Newfoundland the area of French fishing rights was somewhat modified and the rights defined. In India alone there was gain, not loss, to be chronicled. Here, under Warren Hastings, the English more than held their own against native enemies, against French and Dutch. There were wars in Bengal, wars with Hyder Ali, the able adventurer who made himself King of Mysore, wars with the Mahrattas, and through it all the English went forward. Clive had gone home in 1760, and there followed a time when the English in India were at their worst, when merchants were turning into rulers and being demoralised in the process, a time of which Horace Walpole could write a little later in exaggerated terms, "We are Spaniards in our lust for gold, and Dutch in our delicacy of obtaining it." The hands of Clive were not

The Peace
of Ver-
sailles.

India.

clean, but they were strong ; under weaker control corruption and speculation were rife. There was a deposition of one native ruler in Bengal and the setting up of another, a massacre of English at Patna, and consequent war. Clive was sent back to deal with the crisis. Reaching Calcutta in 1765, with iron resolution he put an end to the iniquities which had taken place, the result of poorly paid Englishmen in a Company's service enriching themselves by illicit gains ; and the Company, who had hitherto governed Bengal through native puppets, began to take the administration into their own hands. Meanwhile, the Government at home had come to realise that an Empire had been created which could not be left to the unquestioned control of a trading company. When Chatham returned to office in 1766, he was minded to change the old order : his health gave way, and the change was delayed for a short time ; but in 1773 a Regulating Act was passed, which established a Governor-General and Council, the nominations to the appointments being made subject to the approval of the Crown. Under this Act Warren Hastings, then Governor of Bengal, became the first Governor-General, and held office for ten memorable years. Eventually the younger Pitt carried out what his father had contemplated ; and his Act of 1784 placed over the Company a Board of Control, which held the field until the India Mutiny brought the East India Company to an end, and the government of India was finally and formally taken over by the Crown.

In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, the French King was put to death, and in 1793 France and England were again at war. Napoleon was the offspring of the Revolution in France, as in the seventeenth century Cromwell was of the civil war in England ; and England, as in the days of Louis XIV., was once more face to face with an attempt—

the greatest attempt perhaps in all history—at a world-wide military despotism. All the world over, on every land and sea, the fight went on, one people and another being drawn in, one people and another losing possessions because, if not already taken by France, there was good prospect that they would be taken by France, if France were not forestalled. The Treaty of Amiens in 1802 called a halt for less than a year. Then the war went on again: France dominated the Continent: Nelson at Trafalgar consummated England's mastery of the sea. Slowly and painfully Wellington made his way and England's way in the Peninsula. Eventually Russia threw in her lot wholeheartedly against military domination from without, and had her reward when the retreat from Moscow came. Sweden came in, under one of Napoleon's own marshals, Bernadotte. Prussia, crushed at Jena, raised her head again. Austria once more took heart of courage, and the end of it was the Peace of Paris in 1814, supplemented by a second peace in 1815 after the Hundred Days' Campaign and the Battle of Waterloo.

The
Napoleonic
wars.

At the most critical time England became involved in a second war with the United States, the war of 1812. It arose out of the complications caused by the war with Napoleon, the interference with the trade of neutrals, the exercise of the right of search. It was a war which neither side favoured at heart, which brought little honour or profit either to England or to the United States, a war in which the Americans signally failed to subdue Canada, in which the English burned down the government buildings at Washington, retaliating in kind for American outrages at Newark and Toronto, in which they were badly beaten at New Orleans, and at sea lost prestige in naval duels between single ships; for American frigates, well built and well

The war
of 1812.

commanded, were constantly successful ; though, under the eyes of the citizens of Boston, Captain Broke on the *Shannon* defeated and carried off the American ship *Chesapeake*. The war ended with the Treaty of Ghent, signed on the 24th of December 1814, leaving the two combatants as they had started. In the century which has since passed, peace, though often threatened, has remained unbroken between Great Britain and the United States. So may it be till the end of time.

The Navy.

A review of this pre-eminently fighting age, from 1702 to 1815, must place in the forefront the fact that England owed all to the sea. There were, no doubt, many shortcomings and disappointments on water as on land. There were failures to record, especially in the earlier part of the century. Admiral Vernon's attacks on Cartagena and Cuba in 1741-42 were miserable fiascos. In 1744 a fight off Toulon against a mixed French and Spanish fleet showed English discipline and efficiency in a poor light. In 1756 the unfortunate Admiral Byng was shot for failing to relieve Minorca. Later in the century Admiral Graves was found wanting in the War of American Independence. On the Coromandel coast of India, a good staunch seaman, Sir Edward Hughes, was yet not the equal of his opponent the French Admiral Suffren ; and other instances might be given to show that English seamen and English ships were not always the best in the world. But from the date 1718, when off the coast of Sicily the elder Byng demolished the Spanish fleet, and the captain, Walton, whom he had detached to follow up fugitive vessels, sent in the memorable brief report, " We have taken or destroyed all the Spanish ships upon this coast, the number as per margin "—from that date till Trafalgar in 1805, there is one long chronicle of the constantly growing sea-power of England, one long

succession of man after man who carried the English flag to triumph on the water. Anson, Boscawen, Hawke, Saunders, Howe, Rodney, Hood, Duncan, Jervis, Nelson, and many others might be named. England can put forward a list of generals who will stand side by side with the greatest of military leaders. Her soldiers have proved on battlefield after battlefield that there are no finer fighters in the world ; but on the sea, and in the eighteenth century, the English did not merely prevail over their rivals, they completely outclassed them. It was at this time above all others that the sea for England was " the triumphant sea."

Side by side with all the fighting in Europe there was India. fighting in India. There were two new Mysore wars with Tippoo Sahib, son of Hyder Ali, which ended with the storming of Seringapatam and Tippoo's death. There was a Mahratta war, marked by the victories of Sir Arthur Wellesley, as he then was, and Lord Lake, Wellesley winning his first memorable success at the battle of Assaye. At the end of the period the English came into conflict with a certain hard fighting race, of whom we hear much in our own ranks at the present day, the Gourkhas of Nepal. From 1798-1805 Sir Arthur Wellesley's brother, Lord Wellesley, was Governor-General of India, and under him the British power was widely extended. From India, too, went the expeditions which procured for us Ceylon and Mauritius with its dependencies.

Outside India the net results of the Napoleonic wars Results of the Napoleonic wars. were that England gained from France St. Lucia in the West Indies, Mauritius and the Seychelles in the Indian Ocean, while Malta, given to us eventually by the free voice of the Maltese, had previously been taken from France. From Spain we took Trinidad ; from Denmark, Heligoland,

to be transferred to Germany in 1890 ; from Holland, Ceylon, British Guiana, and, most important of all, the Cape of Good Hope. First taken by the English in 1795, the Cape was given back to the Netherlands by the Treaty of Amiens. Taken again in 1806, it was formally ceded to Great Britain in the general settlement of 1814. Thus of the three present great groups of self-governing dominions, Canada was acquired by conquest and the following Peace of 1763, South Africa by conquest and the following Peace of 1814 ; the third, Australia, came into our hands by settlement, not by force of arms.

The first
settlement
in Australia.

For there were peacefully acquired possessions in this fighting century. In the war in North America, which ended with the conquest of Canada, two men served whose names were later to be known, not in the fighting line but in the ranks of great discoverers. On the English ships served James Cook, with Montcalm was De Bougainville. When the Seven Years' War was over, these two men among others sailed into the southern seas. Cook, on his first voyage in the *Endeavour*, explored the coasts of New Zealand and the eastern side of Australia or New Holland, as it was then called, having with him the botanist Sir Joseph Banks, and in 1770 he landed in a bay to which was given the name of Botany Bay. It has been seen that transportation of criminals and political prisoners beyond the seas was a practice of long standing. One main market for this export of human goods had been the North American colonies, especially the Southern States. Here the door was closed by the War of Independence and its sequel, and it became necessary to look elsewhere for the disposal of English undesirables. Hulks were tried and penitentiaries, and in 1784, the year after the Peace of Versailles was signed, an Act of Parliament was passed, authorising

transportation to places to be fixed by the Privy Council, whether within or without the King's dominions. Banks had already suggested Botany Bay; the proposal was eventually adopted. In 1787 Captain Phillip started with the first band of convicts. At the beginning of January 1788 he landed in Botany Bay; later in the same month he moved into Port Jackson, and on its shores laid the foundations of a future great city, called after Lord Sydney, who was then one of the Secretaries of State. Almost immediately another small station was established in Norfolk Island, and another in 1803 in Tasmania; while Phillip's commission as Governor covered all the eastern side of Australia and a wide stretch of Pacific islands. The immediate origin of British settlement in Australia was the transportation system. But even for the purpose of transportation Australia was only sought because the North American colonies were closed. From this narrow point of view alone, therefore, the colonisation of Australia may be said to have been the outcome of the Independence of the United States. But in the minds of some men, at any rate, there was a wider conception. There was a desire to forestall France—and France was barely forestalled—in the occupation of this new world in the south; there was some instinct to compensate in southern seas for losses in the Atlantic. The fact stands out that we finally parted with the United States in 1783, and in 1788 we were in Australia.

Another peaceful acquisition during this period, and a very important one, was made from India by the East India Company. This was in the Malay Peninsula. There had been, as we have seen, in earlier days factories in Patani and in Kedah, but it was in the year 1786 that the English first gained a firm foothold in or off the Peninsula. In that year the Company bought from the Sultan of Kedah the

Penang.

island of Penang, calling it Prince of Wales' Island, because it was first occupied on the birthday of the then Prince of Wales; and in 1800 they bought the opposite strip of mainland, the greater part of what is now Province Wellesley, in order to secure both sides of the harbour, just as at Hong-kong we hold not only the island but also the promontory of Kowloon. The annuity to the Sultan of Kedah, which was the price of these cessions, has continued to be paid to his descendants to the present day. The island of Penang was for some time a penal settlement for Bengal, but in 1805 it was for a while raised to the rank of a Presidency. It was the first beginning of the present great colony of the Straits Settlements with the adjoining Protectorates, which cover the whole south of the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch suffered badly in the East Indies in the Napoleonic wars, Malacca was taken by the English, Ceylon was taken, and Java. There was restitution when peace came again, except in the case of Ceylon; but the final settlement between English and Dutch in these lands and waters falls outside the period now under review.

British
Honduras.

From 1798 may be dated the acquisition of British Honduras. From very early days the English had been in evidence in the Bay of Honduras. In 1630 a Company was incorporated by Charles I. for colonising islands off the coast of Central America, one of which was given the name of Providence, and came to be known as Old Providence to distinguish it from the later-named island of New Providence in the Bahamas. For more than two centuries the English connexion with these islands and with the Mosquito Indians on the adjoining mainland coast continued, the Indians regarding the British Government as their suzerain and protector against Spain. In 1852 the islands were actually constituted a separate British colony, but in

1859 and 1860 treaties were made with the republics of Honduras and Nicaragua, under which Great Britain severed her connexion with the islands and the Mosquito coast, while stipulating that the rights of her Indian friends should be safeguarded. Connected with the story of these Bay islands is that of British Honduras. The colony has a curious history. It is difficult to say whether it was the result of war or peace. It was the outcome of woodcutting, within territory which was claimed by Spain, in the south-eastern corner of the peninsula of Yucatan. The name of Belize has been said, probably wrongly, to have originated by a process of corruption, out of that of Willis, a leading West Indian buccaneer, who, about the year 1638, was reputed to have established himself in British Honduras. At any rate a logwood industry came into being, in some sort under the patronage of the Government of Jamaica. The Spaniards regarded the woodcutters as trespassers and constantly tried to oust them, but the Baymen, as they came to be called, were not to be ousted. Treaties of 1763, 1783, 1786, safeguarded them in their occupation, but safeguarded also the sovereign rights of Spain. At length, in 1798, a Spanish fleet came down to oust them out once and for all, their principal settlement being on St. George's Cay, a little island off the mouth of the Belize river; and the result was that the Baymen, taking to their boats, and backed by a British ship, beat off the Spaniards, and finally disposed of all Spanish rights and claims.

The detention of Napoleon at St. Helena in 1815 led to the occupation of the island of Ascension and the still more remote island of Tristan da Cunha. Ascension, garrisoned in 1815, was retained after the death of Napoleon as a naval station, and it is noteworthy as the one British possession overseas which is under the control of the

Ascension
and Tristan
da Cunha.

Admiralty. For it is interesting to bear in mind that, as was not the case in France, the administration of British colonies and dependencies has never been combined with the control of the Navy. The Navy has been largely responsible for their acquisition, almost wholly responsible for their safe-keeping, but no British Minister of Marine has discharged the duties of Colonial Secretary. To Tristan da Cunha a tiny garrison was sent in 1816, which was removed again in 1817; a corporal and his family with two others remained behind and became the nucleus of a very small nondescript community, which exists to this day under the British flag in a condition of peaceful anarchy.

Sierra
Leone.

One more settlement remains to be noticed, on the west coast of Africa. The year 1787 saw the founding of the colony of Sierra Leone. It was the product of philanthropy pure and undefiled. At the very place whence Hawkins carried off the first English cargo of negro slaves, a site was obtained from its negro owners for a settlement for liberated slaves, which bore the name of Freetown. In 1791 a Sierra Leone Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament, and its object, as defined by the Directors a little later, was the introduction of civilisation into Africa. In truth the colony was one of the concrete instances of an awakening conscience in England with regard to the possessions and interests of England beyond the seas and the doings of Englishmen. The riches of the West India sugar-planters, the wealth of the East Indian nabobs, had not only been acquired by questionable means, but had, when acquired, tended to poison public and private morality in England. Money was lavished on Ministers, on Directors, on Members of Parliament. How had the money come? Was it not from enslaving black men in the West and oppressing natives in India? The impeachment of Clive, the long-

Awakening
conscience
in England.

drawn trial of Warren Hastings, allowing for exaggeration, unfairness, political bias, were yet evidences of a growing sense in England that all was not right, that much was wrong, on the other side of the water. The staunch old Tory Dr. Johnson hated slavery and the slave trade with all his sturdy soul. To him the West Indian planters were "the English barbarians that cultivate the southern islands of America"; he raised his glass at Oxford to the next negro insurrection in the West Indies. With him and with others it counted that the revolting American colonists who called out for liberty were themselves largely owners of slaves. "If all the black slaves were in rebellion," wrote Horace Walpole in 1774, "I should have no doubt in choosing my side, but I scarce wish perfect freedom to merchants who are the bloodiest of tyrants." The law courts struck a blow for freedom when, in 1772, Lord Mansfield's judgment laid down that the free soil of England gave freedom to a slave. Granville Sharp, Clarkson, and Wilberforce drew after them Pitt, Fox, and other leading statesmen, and the year 1807 saw the slave trade abolished by Act of Parliament.

Before this date, as has been noted, the East India Company had been placed under a Board of Control. A Colonial Office did not exist before the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Board of Trade and Plantations lasted till 1782, and, with one of two Secretaries of State, not specially allotted to the colonies, handled colonial matters. From 1768 to 1782 there was a third Secretary of State, a Secretary of State for the Colonies or Secretary of State for the American department, and in the hands of Lord George Germain this office spelled disaster. It, too, was abolished by Burke's Act of 1782; and it was not until 1801 that a Secretary of State for the Colonies in the modern sense

The
Colonial
Office.

came into existence. Even then his colonial duties were combined with others, for he was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. In other words, as the nineteenth century opened, war, not trade, gave the keynote to colonial administration.

The be-
ginning of
machinery.

Side by side with moral awakening in England, with regard to Englishmen and English possessions beyond the seas, came, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, an awakening of the forces which had lain hidden in English soil and in English minds. James Watt with his steam-engine inaugurated a new era ; machinery came in, and the reign of iron and coal began ; the north and north-west of England rose to leadership, supplanting with town and manufacture the predominance of the farm, the landlord, and the yeoman. Liverpool, enriched by the infamous African slave trade, began to draw greater riches from the import of cotton. At the same time Adam Smith, in the *Wealth of Nations*, exposed the fallacies of the mercantile system which had governed English trade and the relations between the mother country and her colonies and dependencies. In short, long before the fighting age was over, the signs of the times pointed to a wholly new England, modelled upon wholly new lines.

What shall be said of this fighting age, this time of immense gain and immense loss ? What was the good of it all, of all the endless expenditure of life and money, of the acquisition of new lands only to cause further expenditure, to invite further enmities, to give further hostages to fortune, and in doing so to add to distress, taxation, and misery at home ? Why could not the English be content with their own island, keeping their own shores inviolate, giving no offence, incurring no risk ? It was too late to ask this question in the eighteenth century. The initial

mistake, if mistake there was, was made when the English first went over the seas. For in the case of nations there is no turning back without disaster. Hear the father of English colonisers, Sir Walter Raleigh: "Although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed that God alloweth not in His servants any desire of returning to the place from whence He hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, 'Remember Lot's wife,' contains much matter." Can security ever be obtained by a purely defensive policy? Had England stood aloof and let France overmaster the world outside, would England have been secure? She might have existed still, but by refusing Empire she would have forfeited assurance of liberty. Can a nation refuse to play its part in the world without being untrue not merely to its interests but to its call, without burying its talent in a napkin and proving itself an unprofitable servant? But there would have been no slave trade, no slavery, no iniquities in India, no transportation, no crimes against other races. Is there, then, meaning in an argument that a boy should not grow up to be a man, because, if he becomes a great man, he will infallibly, in the course of his career, make enemies, work injuries, commit faults, spend money, all on the high-road to greatness? There is no meaning in it; the boy must become a man; and even so, for good or evil, a nation must run its course.

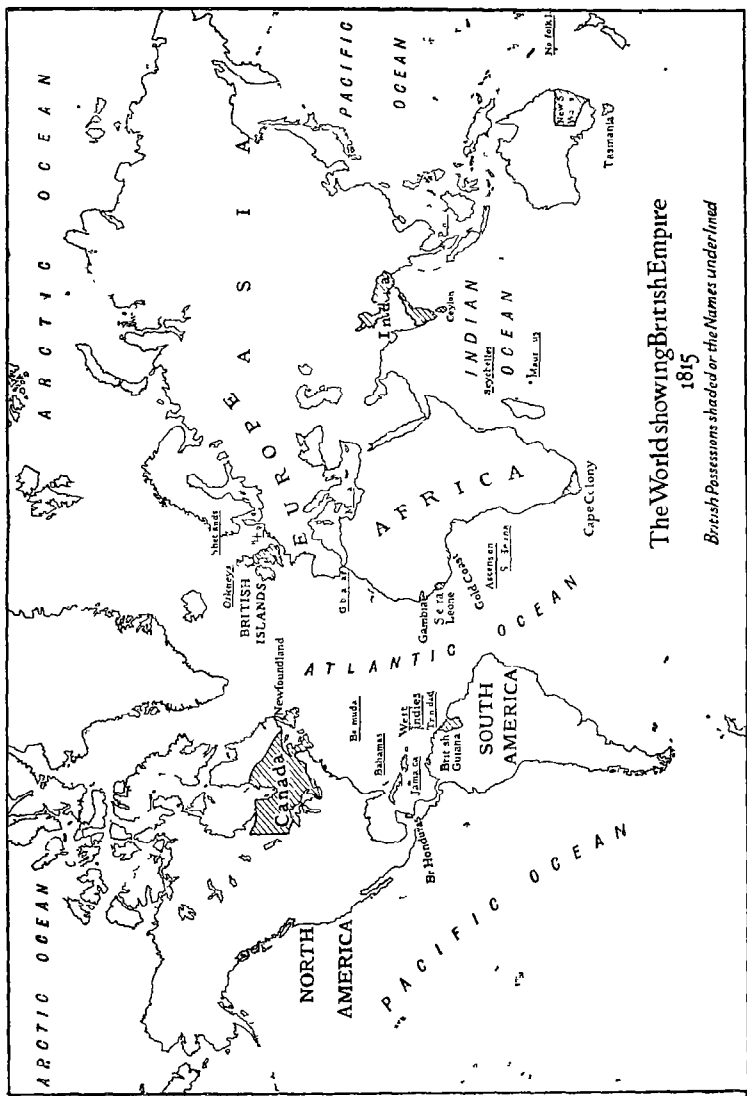
CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA

1815-1915

The
nineteenth
century.

OF the hundred years between the Battle of Waterloo and the present day over sixty years are covered by the reign of Queen Victoria. That reign falls into two parts, the dividing line, as will be seen hereafter, being about the year 1880. During these hundred years England has been singularly free from wars with other European nations. Since 1815 there has been unbroken peace with France, as with the United States. There have been only two great foreign wars. The first was the Crimean War, in which France and England, now allies of Russia, were allied against her, and which of all important wars in English history was perhaps the most localised, the most remote from English overseas interests and possessions. The other great foreign war is the present war, in which for the first time in history the English are at war with the German nation. There have been numberless wars with native races, in India, in China, in Africa, in New Zealand. Egypt suffered on two of the few occasions of serious importance on which, until the present war began, English ships have been in action during the century. The Egyptian and Turkish fleet was destroyed at the battle of Navarino in 1827; Alexandria



was bombarded in 1882 at the time of Arabi Pasha's revolt. The Boer wars in South Africa, including the last great South African War, were more of the nature of civil than of foreign wars. Under the heading of Civil War must be placed the Indian Mutiny.

The century has been an age in which both State action and private enterprise have been conspicuous beyond the seas. The East India Company was eliminated from India in favour of the Crown ; the Canadian Government took over the territories of the Hudson Bay Company ; but not many years passed before there was a new birth of chartered companies, making history even faster than their predecessors. It has been an age of large additions to the Empire, some made by force of arms, some by wholly peaceful means ; but on the whole it has been an age more marked by expansion than by intrusion into wholly new regions of the globe. There has been at this point and at that widening of the circle ; there has been movement from the coast inland ; there has been filling up of vacant spaces ; there have also been acquisitions in lands and seas where there was no foothold before ; but in the main the growth of the Empire in the nineteenth century can best be described by the term expansion, and expansion has been facilitated by railways, the fruit of scientific invention. Indeed, the outstanding feature of the last hundred years has been the ever-growing predominance of science alike in peace and in war.

1815 to
1837.

Compared with the years which went before and the years which followed after, the interval of rather less than a quarter of a century between the battle of Waterloo and the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 was, in the story of the Empire, a very quiet time, but none the less it was in various directions an important and a fruitful time.

Looking beyond the seas, England, by a treaty with Austria of November 1815, to which the other Powers afterwards assented, took over "the immediate and exclusive protection" of the Ionian Islands, which were subsequently ceded to Greece in 1864. The British Governor was styled High Commissioner, a term which in later times has become very familiar in our overseas history. In India there was a final Mahratta war, and the first of a series of Burmese wars which gave us Assam and Tenasserim. In 1824 there was a general settlement with the Dutch in the Malay Indies, by which they retired from the Malay Peninsula and the English retired from the islands. In the islands the chief English possession had been Bencoolen in Sumatra, in the Peninsula the chief Dutch possession had been Malacca; these two places were interchanged. Meanwhile, a far-seeing man, Sir Stamford Raffles, had seen the importance of the geographical position held by the island of Singapore, and in 1819 had obtained permission from its native owners to plant a British settlement upon it. In 1824 it became wholly British, and thus the first quarter of the nineteenth century saw the Straits Settlements securely established, Penang being the seat of government down to 1837, when the centre was removed to Singapore. The Straits Settlements at the present day include the Cocos-Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean; these islands were settled by the Ross family, the present proprietors, about 1827, and they were formally placed under the British flag in 1857. In 1832 British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands was finally proclaimed and upheld. The islands had been first sighted by John Davis in 1592. Attention had been called to them in the middle of the eighteenth century by the narrative of Lord Anson's voyage round the world. A little later in that century Bougainville had tried

The Ionian
Islands.

India.

The Straits
Settle-
ments.

The Cocos
Islands.

The
Falkland
Islands.

to plant a French colony in them, and the English had followed suit. The Spaniards had always held them to be a Spanish possession, and eventually turned out the English by force. There followed a kind of compromise; and in connexion with it the islands attained some notoriety in party politics in England, Dr. Johnson contributing to the controversy in 1771 his pamphlet, *Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands*. Subsequently the Argentine Republic carried on the Spanish claim; but in December 1832 and the beginning of 1833 a British ship assured the exclusive possession to Great Britain.

The Monroe
Doctrine.

It was in these years that the famous Monroe Doctrine came to birth. The revolt of the Spanish colonies in Central and South America met with warm sympathy in the United States. The English Foreign Secretary, George Canning, invited a declaration against European intervention in the affairs of South America; and, with strong approval in England, President Monroe published in December 1823 a Message which embodied the Doctrine. It was a pronouncement with far-reaching results. From this date, in a growing degree, territorial acquisition in North or South America, over and above existing colonies and dependencies, was closed to Europe. The United States would regard any attempt of European Powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The close of the Napoleonic wars found all the peoples of Europe, including England, exhausted with the strain; and the years which followed Waterloo were in England years of grave distress and heavy taxation. To William Cobbett the National Debt represented merely a Dead Weight, it was a "curse entailed upon the country on

account of the late Wars against the liberties of the French people." Home legislation was in arrear, and it took time for men's minds to become accustomed to peace and what peace demanded, instead of being intent upon war. Thus there was a breathing space in which emigration to the colonies attracted attention as a remedy for starvation in Ireland and in England, and gradually methods of colonisation, and the principles on which colonies might be soundly based and wisely administered, began to be studied by a band of thinking men, the foremost of whom was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. In the meantime the stagnation caused by the war passed away, the party of reform gained ascendancy, and the great Reform Bill of 1832 began a new era. Among the measures passed by the reformed Parliament was the Act which abolished slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833. The Act was to come into force gradually, and Parliament voted £20,000,000 for compensation to the slave-owners in the West Indies, in Mauritius, and at the Cape. The compensation, though the amount voted did not cover the loss, was at least worthy evidence that the English were determined at cost to themselves to put an end once and for all to an evil system. It may be quoted as one memorable instance in which Englishmen preferred morality to interest.

Abolition
of slavery

The Act was coming into operation when Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne in 1837, and the beginning of her reign marked in a singular degree the beginning of a new age for England and the Empire. In 1837 a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the system of transportation, and its report, made in the following year, led to the gradual abolition of the system. In 1838 Lord Durham went on his historic mission to Canada, and his report, published in January 1839,

The
accession
of Queen
Victoria.

was the source from which the present self-governing Dominions derived their freedom. In 1837 the great Boer trek was on foot in South Africa, whence came all the manifold complications, wars, and treaties which we associate with South African history. The same year, 1837, saw the first patent for an electric telegraph, and in 1838 regular steam communication between England and America began. We will now trace very shortly the evolution of the Empire in the first forty years of Queen Victoria's reign, starting in the West.

The first
forty years
of her reign.

Canada.

An outcome of the War of American Independence was the peopling of Ontario and New Brunswick by Loyalist refugees from the revolting colonies. The United Empire Loyalists, their services and their sufferings, have until these latter days received but scant recognition in the chronicles of the British Empire; but assuredly, alike as an ensample of faithfulness to a cause and as makers of a future heritage, they should ever be held in grateful remembrance. The result of their immigration was that the Upper part of Canada became an English province, while Lower Canada remained predominantly French, though in Lower Canada, towards the borders of the United States, there was a district, the Eastern Townships, where the large majority of the population was of English descent. Up to the year 1791, along the line of St. Lawrence and excluding the Maritime provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, there had been since 1763 an undivided Canada, known as the province of Quebec. The coming of the Loyalists into Ontario, bringing with them their old colonial traditions of popular Assemblies, led to an Act of Parliament in 1791 which divided the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, an English province and a French province, each province being given representa-

tive institutions in the form of a nominated Legislative Council and an elected House of Assembly, though in neither case was the Assembly entrusted with full control of all the revenues or with control of the executive officers. The point reached in political development was the intermediate stage of representative institutions without responsible government, the Executive being responsible to the Home Government, not to the elected representatives of Upper and Lower Canada. There followed thirty years and more of political friction, which in Lower Canada was embittered by race feeling. Eventually there was an armed rising in 1837, which was without much difficulty suppressed in both provinces, and Lord Durham was sent out with special powers as Governor-General over the whole of British North America.

Lord
Durham's
mission.

It will be borne in mind that a few years earlier Liberalism had won its battle in England. The Reform Bill had been passed, slavery had been abolished, and now in 1838, the year in which Lord Durham went out to Canada, an Anti-Corn Law Association was formed at Manchester. Advanced Liberals embodied and fostered the popular reaction against an age of war; an age when force was in the ascendant, even though force was identified with defence of liberty; when men's eyes were turned outward rather than inward, upon the doings of generals and admirals rather than upon the condition of the people at home; an age of constant interference with other lands and peoples; an age of commercial monopoly. To all advanced Liberals popular rights, as won in England and enshrined in the Reform Bill, were the one thing needful, to be carried, wherever it was possible, beyond the seas. But two schools of advanced Liberals grew up who parted company. Starting from the common ground of political liberty, as

The two
schools of
Liberal
thought
in regard
to the
Colonies.

Responsible
Govern-
ment.

years went on, the Whigs, or some of them, on one wing of the Liberal party, Radicals of the type of Richard Cobden on the other wing, more or less coincided in the view that *laissez faire* or *laissez aller* was the road to salvation, that all peoples should go their own ways and not be shepherded, or rather fleeced, by State policy, that trade should be unfettered, that separation of colonies might well be a boon, and would in any case be in the course of nature. The other school was a school of Radicals, who had made a study of colonies and colonisation. They held as firmly and as fiercely as the others that political liberty was the basis of all good; but, starting from this basis, they preached the doctrine that extension of political liberty to the colonies was the true road to a united Empire. The founder of this school, if any one man was the founder, was Gibbon Wakefield, who has already been mentioned. Lord Durham, in political life, was its most prominent representative; Charles Buller its most attractive personality. Buller and Wakefield went with Durham to Canada, and the great Durham report recommended the reunion of the two Canadas, and the grant to the single whole thus created of responsible government. "Under wise and free institutions . . .," ran the prophetic words of the report, "a connexion secured by the link of kindred origin and mutual benefits may continue to bind to the British Empire the ample territories of its North American provinces, and the large and flourishing population by which they will assuredly be filled." There is not space to discuss how far Durham's views of responsible government differed from what actually has come to pass, or to note his recommendations as to the disposal of public lands, which subject was an integral part of the Wakefield creed. The great outstanding fact is that, after the publication of his report and because

of it, first the two Canadian provinces, linked together in 1840 in an imperfect Union which fell far short of what he had contemplated, about the year 1848 achieved self-government; the Maritime Provinces of Canada became self-governing about the same date; and by the end of the year 1872 responsible government had been established in Newfoundland, in all the Australian colonies except Western Australia, in New Zealand, and in the Cape Colony.

Under the Union Act of 1840 English and French Canada went hand in hand, but very uneasily, and in a quarter of a century a solution of political difficulties was looked for and found in a wider scheme. Lord Durham had foreshadowed a future union of all the British North American colonies; and after conferences and much debate, and no little opposition among those concerned, by the British North America Act, passed in the Imperial Parliament in 1867, it was provided that "the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick shall form and be one Dominion under the name of Canada." The province of Canada was again severed into two provinces, Ontario and Quebec, and provision was made for the admission of other colonies or provinces. Railways played a conspicuous part in the federation of Canada. The construction of an intercolonial railway connecting the city of Halifax in Nova Scotia with the River St. Lawrence was declared to be "essential to the consolidation of the Union of British North America, and to the assent thereto of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick." The construction of a trans-continental railway was the condition on which British Columbia entered the Union.

British Columbia took its origin wholly apart from the rest of Canada, separated from the land of the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic seaboard by the barrier

Confeder-
ation of
Canada.

British
Columbi

of the Rocky Mountains. It was from the Pacific that England came to know of British Columbia. Cook visited Nootka Sound in Vancouver Island in 1778. About ten years later a trading settlement was established there, which caused friction with Spain; and in 1792-93 Captain Vancouver explored the shores and bays of the island and mainland, leaving his name behind him. In 1793 there came a visitor overland from Canada to the Pacific coast, Alexander MacKenzie of the North-West Company, who made his way up the Peace River and over the Mountains. On the mainland, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Hudson Bay Company, having been amalgamated in 1821 with the rival North-West Company, became active on the Pacific side of the Rocky Mountains, competing with Russians and with Americans, trading and establishing factories, the chief of which was Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. By the Anglo-American Treaty of Washington in June 1846, the Oregon boundary question, as it was called, was settled; the 49th parallel was constituted the boundary between British territory and that of the United States as far as the middle of the straits between Vancouver Island and the continent, and the line was then drawn so as to reserve Vancouver Island to Great Britain. Vancouver Island was handed over to the Company, who made the settlement of Victoria in that island their seat of government. Then came discovery of gold on the Fraser River on the mainland, with a consequent stream of immigration. Both Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia were placed under the Crown, and eventually, in 1866, were united into a single colony. Self-government came at the same time as entry into the Dominion, which was in the year 1871, though the railway which was to link the Pacific

coast to Eastern Canada, and on the promise of which the province joined the confederation, was not completed till 1885.

The original charter of the Hudson Bay Company, granted by Charles II. in 1670, constituted the Company lords and proprietors of a vast and undefined territory, which was from that date to be "reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, called Rupertsland," Prince Rupert being the first Governor of the Company. The British North America Act of 1867 gave power for admission into the Union, on Address from the Canadian Houses of Parliament, of "Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory." An Imperial Act of Parliament was passed in 1868 to facilitate the transfer. In 1869 an agreement was arrived at whereby the territorial rights of the Company, with certain reservations, were bought by the Government of Canada for £300,000, and in 1870 the annexation was completed. Included in these territories was the district to the immediate south of Lake Winnipeg, where the waters of the Red River and the Assiniboine flow from south and west to meet each other. Here, in the years 1811-17, Lord Selkirk planted Scottish colonists on land granted by the Hudson Bay Company, meeting with violent opposition from Canadian merchants, interested in the fur trade, who, resenting the monopoly enjoyed by the Hudson Bay Company, had in 1783-84 formed a rival association, the North-West Company. The Selkirk Colony was broken up, but a nucleus of settlers remained, and side by side with them were Canadian half-breeds, who had inherited from French *coueurs de bois* and Indian mothers a spirit of lawlessness and unrest. The annexation of the Hudson Bay Territories, including this Red River Settlement, coupled with some want of tact in beginning the new order,

The
Hudson
Bay
Territories.

The Red
River
Settlement.

led, in 1869, to a rising headed by a pure-blooded French Canadian, Louis Riel, and there followed the Red River Expedition of 1870, when Lord Wolseley first proved his conspicuous fitness for independent command. The rising collapsed: the province of Manitoba, including this Red River Settlement, was carved out of the territories in 1870; and where Fort Garry stood, with some 200 settlers gathered round it, is now the city of Winnipeg, with a population rising towards 200,000. In the present century the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were also created out of the North-West Territories, and from these territories the Yukon territory was separated in the year 1898, in view of the immigration caused by the opening of the Klondyke goldfields. The third and smallest of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, Prince Edward Island, held aloof at the outset from the Dominion, but came into the Confederation in 1873. One North American province alone now stands outside, though the Act of 1867 contemplated its adhesion, the oldest English colony, Newfoundland.

Prince
Edward
Island.

Newfound-
land.

The West
Indies.

Newfoundland made little history in the time under review, slowly turning from fishing-station to colony, beginning to look inland as well as to the Banks. Little history, too, was made in the West Indies. There was no addition to or subtraction from the islands, and here the nineteenth century presented a melancholy contrast to the eighteenth. The prosperity of these colonies had rested on sugar and negro slavery. The emancipation of the slaves was followed by the triumph of the free trade policy in England, which deprived West Indian sugar of any preference in the English market. The want of cheap and regular labour was to a considerable extent made good by the system of indentured immigration from India, which began to a small extent about 1837, and after an interval of sus-

pension was resumed about 1844; but the days had passed and gone when the ownership of a West Indian plantation was synonymous with riches, when by treaty-makers a West Indian island could be weighed in the balance against Canada, and when in West Indian waters fleets of all nations sailed and fought before the eyes of the world. As the nineteenth century grew older, the British West Indies grew poorer, their decline being more marked by contrast alike with their own great past, and with the conspicuous development of other provinces of the British Empire. There were constitutional changes, and the islands were, for purposes of administration, differently grouped at one time and another. In 1839 a Bill laid before the Imperial Parliament for the suspension of the Jamaica Constitution led to the resignation of the Melbourne ministry; and in 1866 representative institutions were for a while abolished in the island in consequence of a dangerous rising in the previous year, the rebellion which roused the well-known controversy as to the action taken by Governor Eyre.

The link, unlovely and discredited, which had bound West Africa to the West Indies, was broken by the abolition of the slave trade. The last of the African companies which were connected with the trade, "the Company of Merchants trading to Africa," had been incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1750, the management being in the hands of a committee of nine, who were chosen in equal proportions in London, Bristol, and Liverpool. This Company was abolished in 1821, and all the English possessions on the west coast of Africa came under the control of the Crown. They included the forts on the Gold Coast; Sierra Leone, which had been constituted a Crown Colony in 1808; and a new settlement on St. Mary's Island at the mouth of the Gambia River, founded in 1816, and called Bathurst,

West
Africa.

after Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary of that date. They were all for a short time constituted a single colony, with the administrative centre at Sierra Leone. It was an evil heritage into which the British Government entered; their possessions were a few disjointed forts or settlements on the fringe of a savage continent, where savagery had been intensified by white men's dealings. On the Gold Coast English forts stood by the edge of the sea, in and out with Dutch and Danish forts and factories. There was a coast and nothing more. Even in 1865, when no little progress had been made, a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that the object of British policy should be ultimate withdrawal from West Africa, with the exception of Sierra Leone. But much had happened before this date. There had been Ashanti wars on the Gold Coast; the forts in 1828 had been handed back to merchants under Government control and with a Parliamentary subsidy; and under this régime a strong and wise Governor, Captain Maclean, had established something like a Protectorate over the tribes behind the sea-board. Once more, in 1843, the Crown resumed the administration; the Danish forts were bought up in 1850; in 1867 the coast was partitioned between the Dutch and the English, the Dutch headquarters being at Elmina, the English at Cape Coast Castle; and in 1871 a Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands eliminated the Dutch altogether from the coast, and left the English in sole possession. Two years later, in 1873-74, came an Ashanti war, when Lord Wolseley added to the reputation gained in the Red River Expedition by taking Coomassie, and from this date began what may be called the modern history of the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate. Meanwhile, on the Gambia, the English secured strips of territory on either bank of the mouth of

the river over against Bathurst, and 150 miles up the river bought M'Carthy's Island. They made additions to the colony of Sierra Leone, notably the district of Sherbro; and in 1861 they acquired a wholly new West African possession, the island of Lagos and the adjoining coast-line, lying east of the Gold Coast in the Bight of Benin. Lagos had been a notorious haunt of slave dealers; it was acquired by peaceable cession and with the direct and avowed object of putting down slavery; it may therefore be classed with Sierra Leone as a British West African dependency, which took its origin not from any tainted source but from philanthropy.

When the English took over the Cape Colony, they took over as British subjects some 26,000 white men, Dutchmen, with a leaven of French Huguenots. Before the first British occupation of the Cape in 1795, the burghers of Graaf Reinet had risen in open revolt against the rule of the Netherlands East India Company, then in the last stage of weakness and bankruptcy. In other words, the up-country Boers had already become restive and had turned their minds towards independence. The English came back to stay in 1806, and in 1820 and 1821 the Albany settlement took place, a State-aided immigration of nearly 5000 British settlers, mainly into the eastern province, where Port Elizabeth came into being on Algoa Bay. In 1833 the ordinary constitution of a Crown colony was given to the Cape, the Legislative Council including unofficial members, who were nominated by the Governor. This Council, though it contained no vestige of an elective element, was an advance on anything that the colonists had known under the Dutch régime. But in the Boers the English had to deal with a strong, tenacious race, suspicious of newcomers, inheriting traditions of successful rivalry to

South
Africa.

England, sore at being severed from their mother country, minded, whether under the Dutch or the English flag, to go their own ways and live their own lives. Governors were not always wise. There was the incident of Slachter's Nek in 1815, when the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, hung five Boer farmers for high treason, a long-remembered act of severity. Administrative and judicial reforms were novelties, and as novelties were liable to misunderstanding. Missionaries from England preached doctrines with regard to the treatment of natives, which did not harmonise with Boer views. Slave emancipation impoverished the slave owners, who received inadequate compensation for the value of their slaves. The climax of discontent was reached at the conclusion of one of the many Kaffir wars in which South Africa and the nineteenth century abounded. At the end of 1834 there was a formidable Kaffir invasion on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, then marked by the Keiskamma River. The Kaffirs were beaten back, their territory in turn was invaded, and in 1835 the Governor, lately come to the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, extended the colonial border farther east as far as the Kei River, giving to the district the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide. By this date Lord Glenelg had become Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Melbourne's second administration. An ardent philanthropist, he persuaded himself, or was persuaded by advocates of native races, more impulsive than wise, that a grave wrong had been done, that the Kaffirs were victims of what he styled "systematic injustice." He reversed the annexation, and ordered the boundary to be moved back again. This filled the Dutchmen's cup of bitterness against the British Government; and, as Englishmen themselves in bygone days had gone over the seas to be rid of English rule, so the South African Boers

The origin
of the
Great Trek.

found their remedy in emigration. In 1836 began the Great Trek, which altered the whole history of South Africa. There are two main points to be noticed. The beginning of all the trouble in South Africa was missionary influence, slave emancipation, regard for the interests or supposed interests of native races. It was not misrule and oppression that sent the Dutch wandering into the interior, it was good intentions and impolitic philanthropy. Again, on purely philanthropic grounds, a most disastrous step was taken, the retrocession of a district which had been formally annexed. This was the beginning of undoing, and it set a precedent for undoing which held the field in South Africa for fifty years. The mischief, the present misery and the future difficulties which are caused by going back, can best be studied in South African history. It is a long record of English policy at its worst, alienating white men and coloured alike, by implanting in them the conviction that what is done may be undone by a Government beyond the seas, representing not a steadfast nation but the predominant party at the moment.

The Boers went out into the land between the Orange and the Vaal River and beyond the Vaal. They founded little republics, the nuclei of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. They crossed over the mountains into Natal. In Natal Dutchmen gave to the inland town Pietermaritzburg its name, whereas the port of the colony was called after Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the English Governor of the Cape. For, before the Dutchmen came down from the mountains in 1837, private Englishmen had, about the year 1824, obtained a grant of the port of Natal and the adjoining district from the Zulu King. In 1834 a regular settlement began, and the settlers asked to be recognised as a colony, but the Home Government refused. The

incoming Dutch and the Zulus fell to fighting ; there was a massacre of the immigrants at Weenen, the place of weeping ; in December 1838, on the Blood River, as it was thenceforth known, the Boers inflicted a crushing defeat on the Zulu King Dingaan, commemorated ever since by Dingaan's Day. They were still in the eyes of the British Government British subjects, but the Government was at a loss how to deal with them. They wanted to be recognised as independent in the lands which they had won from Zulu and Matabele, but their dealings with natives were not to the minds of Englishmen and Scotchmen ; to David Livingstone, ministering to the Bechuanas in the far-off mission station of Kolobeng, they were as so many bushrangers. Eventually, in 1843, Natal was declared to be a British colony, some Dutchmen remaining to be under the British flag, others going back over the mountains to join their brethren on the plateau of the interior. There the British Government vacillated in their policy, afraid of responsibility for law and order in a great wild land, yet loth to leave the natives unprotected. At length, in 1848, Sir Harry Smith, then Governor of the Cape, proclaimed British sovereignty over the territory between the Orange River and the Vaal ; the Boers took up arms ; and there was a sharp fight at Boomplatz, before the Orange River Sovereignty, as it was called, was established and a fort built at Bloemfontein. Beyond the Vaal no effective step was taken to enforce British authority.

The Orange
River Sov-
ereignty.

There had been in the meantime another Kaffir war in the Cape Colony, and in December 1847 Sir Harry Smith had once more annexed the province of Queen Adelaide, giving it the name of British Kaffraria. Yet again there was fighting with the Kaffirs from 1850 to 1853, with the usual sequel of further annexation ;

and in 1851-52 a war, in which the English had little the best of it, with the mountaineers of Basutoland. The Home Government, wearied with perpetual South African warfare, in 1852, by the Sand River Convention, recognised the independence of the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal, binding them only by a provision against slavery; and two years later, in 1854, by the Convention of Bloemfontein, they recognised the independence of the Orange Free State.

The Sand
River Con-
vention.

The Con-
vention of
Bloem-
fontein.

The intention at the time, when this backward move was made, was that south of the Orange River and seaward of the Drakensberg Mountains, South Africa should be under British control, but that beyond the river and the mountains the plains of the interior should be left to the Dutch. Whig feeling, predominant in England, was adverse from colonial expansion; and in 1852 Lord Grey, then Secretary of State for the colonies, wrote: "Beyond the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a naval station, the British Crown and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining any territorial dominion in South Africa." Yet the Cape Colony grew in stature and in self-respect as a British colony. In 1849 the colonists sturdily refused to allow ticket-of-leave men from England to be landed on their shores. In 1853 a representative House of Assembly was established, the vote being given to coloured men as well as to white, and nineteen years later, in 1872, came responsible government. Ministers in England might wish to prohibit extension of territory, but missionaries, and native races, and mineral coming to light from under the veldt, were forces which fashioned policy. The Boers of the Orange Free State encroached upon the Basutos' lands and took from them the fertile valley of the Caledon River. Worn out, the natives offered what remained of Basutoland

The
diamond
fields of
Griqua-
land West.

their country to the British Government, and in March 1868, Basutoland became part of the British Empire. The year before there had been news of the finding of a diamond near the Orange River, and in 1871 there were rich finds north of that river in what is now the Kimberley district. Here the land was tenanted by half-breeds known as Griquas, and the district came to bear the title of Griqualand West. The Orange Free State also claimed it, but the Griqua leader invited British sovereignty, and in 1871 that sovereignty was proclaimed. Five years later the Free State claim was compromised for a sum of £90,000. Drawn on by native invitation, and by the advancing tide of diamond diggers, the English had gone once more beyond the Orange River.

Native wars continued in the Cape Colony; German military settlers were introduced; always the frontier was moved eastward, until in 1878 the last Kaffir rising was over. Then the scene shifted to Natal, Zululand, and the Transvaal Republic. There had been a small native rising in Natal in 1873, the leader of which, Langalibalele, found a warm champion in Bishop Colenso; but far more dangerous was the Zulu power on the borders of Natal, supported by battalions of disciplined savagery under King Cetewayo. Zululand marched alike with Natal and with the Transvaal Republic. That Republic was at the lowest ebb, in a state of bankruptcy and anarchy, with an evil record for atrocities towards coloured men. It was at war in 1876 with a native chief within its borders, a war which was proclaiming to the natives of South Africa that white men in South Africa were at once inhuman and ineffective. The Zulus were ripe for invasion of the Transvaal; the situation was full of danger. A British emissary, of rare experience in native questions, Sir Theophilus

Shepstone, was sent to the Transvaal to make enquiry, empowered, if he thought necessary, to proclaim British sovereignty over the Republic. He used his discretion, and in April 1877 the Transvaal was annexed. With the annexation the British Government took over a boundary question outstanding between the Boers and the Zulus; an award was given by the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, and the Zulu King was at the same time called upon to make good past outrages and to desist from future hostility to white men. There followed at the beginning of 1879 a Zulu war, when eight hundred white soldiers were annihilated at Isandhlwana, when the Zulus were beaten off at Rorke's Drift, and later at Kambula, Ginghlovo, and in the final battle of Ulundi, were broken and conquered. Lord Chelmsford, Evelyn Wood, Redvers Buller, and in the sequel Lord Wolseley, took part in the fighting; the French Prince Imperial fought in the British ranks and lost his life. It was a somewhat disastrous war, and a more disastrous war followed. Relieved of danger from the Zulus, disappointed at delay in the grant of self-government which had been promised, mindful of the shiftiness of British policy, the Boers followed up protests against annexation by rising in arms on Dingaan's day, the 16th of December 1880. In the Transvaal they intercepted and shot down a British detachment at Bronkhorst Spruit; they besieged the garrisons; and they blocked a British advance from Natal at Lang's Nek. At Lang's Nek, and at Ingogo, the British troops under the command of Sir George Colley were checked and driven back. On the night of February 26, 1881, Colley led a force of about 400 men up Majuba Hill, which commanded the Boer position; but, when daylight came, the Boers worked up the hill, skilful in taking cover, and the end of it was annihilation of the

First
annexation
of the
Transvaal.

The Zulu
War.

The Boer
War.

wearied English soldiers and the death of the general. To replace him Lord Roberts, then Sir Frederick Roberts, was sent out from England, only to learn, when he reached the Cape, that the fighting was at an end. The Liberal Government had decided not to make good the defeat, not to incur further bloodshed against men who would be unwilling subjects and who were in arms to regain freedom. Once more steps were retraced, and under the Pretoria Convention of 1881, amended by the London Convention of 1884, the Transvaal became again a republic—the South African Republic—under a disputed suzerainty of the Queen, but with undisputed hold by the British Government upon the foreign relations of the Boers.

Retroces-
sion of the
Transvaal.

Australia.

In Australia the English settlers were not troubled with fighting native races of the Kaffir and Zulu type. Few and weak were the aborigines of the southern continent; nor had the colonists to face any white competitors already settled in the land, either French or Dutch. Their war was the “war with the wilderness.” It has been told that the Select Committee on Transportation recommended, in 1838, abolition of the system. The evils which were inherent in it were exposed: its “inefficiency for good and efficiency for evil,” its tendency further to deprave the convict and to infect a young community with the taint of wickedness. Fuller, who has already been quoted on this subject of Transportation, wrote: “It was rather bitterly than falsely spoken concerning one of our Western plantations (consisting most of dissolute people), that it was very like unto England, as being spit out of the mouth of it.” Two hundred years later Englishmen began to see in the same light their evil plantation in Australia; they began to recognise the sin of sending “Christian savages to heathen savages.” From the date of the Committee’s report the

Abolition
of Trans-
portation.

system was doomed, and after 1840 no more convicts were sent to New South Wales. There was an attempt to perpetuate Transportation in a modified form, sending out as "exiles" selected men who had already received conditional pardon, side by side with free immigrants; but the experiment was not successful either in Australia or, as we have seen, at the Cape. In the 'fifties the discoveries of Australian gold, notably at Ballarat and Bendigo, brought in a rush of free immigrants and completed the swamping of the convict element. In 1852 Tasmania ceased to be a convict colony; and to Western Australia alone convicts were sent down to the year 1867, Western Australia being at that date the only colony in Australia which had not received responsible Government.

Convicts had been sent to Moreton Bay in 1824-26, and this Moreton Bay settlement was the beginning of Brisbane and of Queensland. They had been sent to Albany, or King George's Sound, in Western Australia about the same date; but Swan river, at a later date associated with convict labour, was in the first instance the scene of a free settlement which was founded in 1829 and met with scant success. The names of Adelaide and Melbourne tell us that South Australia and the capital of Victoria were founded, the one in the reign of King William IV, whose consort was Queen Adelaide, the other when Lord Melbourne, as Prime Minister, was guiding the young girl-queen Victoria. South Australia dates from 1836, a free colony designed to carry into practice the principles laid down by Gibbon Wakefield and his disciples, the fruit of a South Australian Company and of a special Act of Parliament passed, with the strong support of the Duke of Wellington, in 1834. Whether from adherence to or in consequence of departure from the scientific basis which commended

The formation of the separate colonies.

itself to Wakefield, the early years of the colony ended in bankruptcy, and it owed its regeneration largely to the strong hand of Sir George Grey, who was later to make history in New Zealand and in South Africa. Port Phillip, the inlet to Victoria from the sea, had been discovered at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1834 settlers came over from Tasmania, they were followed by men who trekked overland from New South Wales, and in 1837 Melbourne was founded. In 1851 the Port Phillip settlement was severed from New South Wales and given the name of Victoria; and, as the result of the gold discoveries, for a while it outpaced the mother colony. Queensland, including the Moreton Bay settlement and inland the rich grazing district of the Darling Downs, which were discovered before 1830 and entered by squatters some ten years later, was, in like manner to Victoria, carved out of New South Wales and declared to be a separate colony in December 1859. When it ceased to be a convict colony, Tasmania, which had been known as Van Diemen's Land, in 1853 took its present name. Since 1825 it had ceased to be a dependency of New South Wales, and it became a self-governing colony in 1856. Between 1850 and 1860 all the Australian colonies obtained responsible government, except Western Australia, whose self-government dates from 1890.

Australian
exploration.

There is not space to record the doings of the Australian explorers, who opened up the Great Lone Land of the interior from the date when, in 1813, Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson found their way over the Blue Mountains. The chronicle is one of heroism, suffering, and loss of life. The names of Oxley, Sturt, Mitchell, Eyre, Leichhardt, Burke, and Wills, and many others, live in Australian history as those of men who dared greatly for the future of Australia. In 1862 Macdougall Stuart achieved the feat

of crossing the continent from south to north. South Australia, from which he started and to which he returned, added to her great area the northern territory of the continent, and in 1872 a transcontinental telegraph was completed from Adelaide to Port Darwin. In 1810-11 Eyre, afterwards Governor of Jamaica, made his way with incredible hardship along the coast of the Australian Bight from Adelaide to King George's Sound; but it was not until 1874 that Sir John Forrest, last of the great explorers of the interior, crossed inland from Perth to the South Australian telegraph line. The vast spaces of Australia, which these men slowly and painfully made known to the world, and which in fulness of time were linked up or are being linked up by rail and telegraph, were in earlier days refuges for bushrangers, the offspring of the convict system—in the pages of books picturesque adventurers, in actual life, with few exceptions, ruffians of the worst type. They ceased to be a feature in Australian history after the Kelly gang, which infested Victoria, had been broken up in 1880.

Unlike Australia, New Zealand was tenanted by a fighting race, the Maoris. Cook had explored the shores of the islands, and white men came among the natives—sealers, traders, beachcombers, and missionaries, too, from the London Missionary Society, from the Church Missionary Society, from the Wesleyans. They came at different points, but the Bay of Islands on the north-eastern coast of the North Island was the chief mission centre. In Manning's *Old New Zealand* will be found a picture of life in these islands before the British Government came in. There was some sleepy claim of British sovereignty or overlordship, but for long it slumbered. Twice the Maoris asked for British protection, but the Home Government held its hand, until the hand was forced from within and

from without. The Wakefield school, including Lord Durham, looked upon New Zealand as a likely field wherein to carry out their model schemes of colonisation. A New Zealand Association was formed in 1837, it was followed by a New Zealand Land Company in 1838-39, and in 1839 the Company secretly sent out a ship, the *Tory*, with Wakefield's brother on board, to begin the work of settlement. Meanwhile the French had been coming in, like the English, bringing with them claims to sovereignty and the beginnings of missions; and even as in Australia settlements or stations were planted at this point and at that, to forestall French extension, so in New Zealand French rivalry stimulated English action. In 1839, under instructions from home, Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, proclaimed jurisdiction over the islands; and in 1840 Captain Hobson, sent by him, concluded the Treaty of Waitangi, whereby the Maoris ceded the sovereignty of New Zealand to Great Britain. It was inevitable that, as years went on, there would be friction between the incoming English, always growing in numbers, always absorbing land, and the coloured race who owned the soil, proud and virile, seeing their strength wane and their heritage pass away. There was a Maori rising or series of risings in 1844-48, ended at last by the good management of Sir George Grey in his first and more successful government of the colony. There was a more serious war, or series of wars, between 1860 and 1871, when he was Governor for the second time. But the fighting left mutual respect between the two races. Maori members now sit in the New Zealand Parliament, and white men and coloured in New Zealand stand side by side in loyalty to the King and steadfastness to the cause of the Empire. Very shortly after its annexation New Zealand was separated from New

South Wales and constituted a Crown colony. When representative institutions came into being, they were shaped by the fact that the islands were not settled from one predominant centre, but were colonised by separate detached settlements. There is no one town at the present day in New Zealand which overshadows all the others. Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin are all in the same class. Christchurch was the scene of the Canterbury settlement, fathered by strong churchmen in England. Otago, with its centre at Dunedin, was colonised by Scottish Presbyterians. In 1848 Sir George Grey introduced representative provincial councils, and an Imperial Act of 1852 made provision for these councils, but also created a Central Legislature with the usual two Houses. Representative institutions having been thus brought to birth, there was an immediate demand for responsible government. In December 1854 assent was readily given from home, and in 1855-56, less than twenty years from the date when it first became a British possession, New Zealand took status as a self-governing colony. The provincial councils were abolished in 1876.

In the Pacific Islands, as in New Zealand, the British Government was forced slowly and reluctantly to intervene, actual facts proving too strong for State policy. There was always the same story to tell. The worst of white men came in and some of the best. Traders and storekeepers multiplied, sandalwood cutters and collectors of the *bêche de mer*. The American Civil War stimulated cotton growing, and sugar plantations began. A bad kind of labour traffic sprang up, in its abuses recalling the slave trade. On the other hand missionaries abounded. Before the eighteenth century ended, the London Missionary Society sent out men to the Pacific. Wesleyans followed,

Figt and
the Western
Pacific.

and dominated Tonga in the Friendly Islands. In 1849 Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand founded the Melanesian mission of the Church of England, which has its present headquarters in Norfolk Island; and in 1871 the martyr Bishop Patteson lost his life in the Santa Cruz Islands, killed by natives who had suffered at the hands of white men. The French were active in the Pacific, and secured Tahiti and New Caledonia; their missionaries came into the Friendly Islands; and, as later in Uganda, the natives were torn and bewildered by conflicting Protestants and Roman Catholics. After 1870 the Germans, too, were in evidence in the Pacific. White men settled in some numbers in Fiji. In 1858-59 the leading chief, Thakombau, offered the sovereignty of the islands to Great Britain, but the offer was declined; the settlers invented a constitution which did not work; an Australian conference demanded that Fiji should be placed under British protection; and at length, in order to put an end to anarchy, to check abuses, and to exclude the intervention of other Powers, Great Britain accepted a renewed offer of sovereignty over the Fiji group, and in 1874 annexed them to the Empire. Two years before, in 1872, an Act had been passed for the better protection of the Pacific Islanders. Another Act was passed in 1875; and by an Order in Council of 1877 the Western Pacific High Commission was established, to enforce among British subjects in the Pacific outside British territory some kind of law and order, some respect for native rights. Under this High Commission were evolved the present British Protectorates in the western Pacific.

Pitcairn
Island.

There is one little lonely island in Pacific seas which became British without traders or missionaries. This is Pitcairn Island. Here a handful of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, having set their captain adrift in 1789, and having

taken to themselves wives from among the Tahitian women, landed in 1790. In 1808 they were discovered, and thirty years later the island was formally annexed. In 1856 the colony was transplanted to Norfolk Island, but some of the islanders returned to their old home, and, like Tristan da Cunha, Pitcairn Island is at the present day the dwelling-place of an isolated group of British subjects, whose picturesque past is in strong contrast with a squalid and unlovely present. The captain of the *Bounty*, Captain Bligh, found his way across the sea to the East Indies, and in course of time became Governor of New South Wales, where he caused a second mutiny.

The first addition to the British Empire in the reign of Aden. Queen Victoria was the peninsula of Aden in Arabia, taken in 1839 under instructions from the Government of Bombay, to which Presidency it has always been attached. In 1857 the island of Perim, in the mouth of the Red Sea, was taken; in 1868, 1882, and 1888 further territory round Aden was acquired by purchase. In 1840 little islands—the Musha Islands—lying off the opposite African coast, were bought. In 1854 the Kuria Maria Islands, east of Aden on the Arabian coast, were ceded. In 1876 the island of Socotra was secured from foreign intervention by treaty with its native owner, and ten years later was placed under British Protectorate. As the first British acquisition in the eighteenth century was the rock of Gibraltar, so the first territory added in Queen Victoria's reign was the rock of Aden, like Gibraltar a peninsula, like Gibraltar a natural fortress, the gateway at one end of a long sea route, as Gibraltar is the gateway at the other end. For the cutting of the Suez Canal, which was completed in 1869, made a new and more direct waterway from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, superseding the ocean highroad round the

Cape of Good Hope ; and in the control of that canal England obtained a strong voice by the purchase of the Khedive's shares in 1875.

India.

In India the small possessions which still remained to the Dutch, such as Chinsurah, had been transferred to the English by the settlement of 1824, which in turn gave to the Netherlanders undisputed predominance in the East Indian Islands. In 1845 the small Danish possessions, including Tranquebar, were bought out ; and now, among Europeans, only the Portuguese, with their old historic centre of Goa, and the French at a few points, mainly Pondicherry and Chandernagore, remain side by side with the English in India. The Queen's reign opened in India with a disastrous Afghan war, which began in the early months of 1839. Ghazni was besieged and taken, Cabul was occupied, then came a massacre of Europeans at Cabul, a midwinter retreat and annihilation of a British force, one horseman alone escaping to tell the tale. Sale, Pollock, and Nott turned the tide of disaster, Cabul was once more temporarily reoccupied, and peace was restored in 1842. But a rude shock had been given to British arms and British credit ; it was the first and not the last bitter experience of ventures into Afghanistan. Following upon this Afghan War came in 1843 a war in Sind. Sir Charles Napier won the battle of Miani, and Sind, with its port of Karachi, was annexed to the British dominions. Next there were wars with the hard-fighting Sikhs of the Punjab. The first war was in 1845-46, when the battles of Mudki, of Ferozeshah, of Aliwal, and of Sobraon were fought, the outcome being annexation of part of the Sikh territory. The second war was in 1848-49, and was marked by the desperate battle of Chillianwallah, the siege and capture of Multan, and the final victory of Gujerat. The Sikh dynasty

was now brought to an end, and the whole of the Punjab passed under British rule. In 1852 a second Burmese war gave to England Lower Burma, under the name of Pegu, including the town of Rangoon. The Governor-General of India at this time was Lord Dalhousie, vigorous, high-minded, burning with zeal for the welfare of the governed, and knowing well that welfare would be promoted by substituting English for native rule. By applying the doctrine of lapse, a doctrine which set aside the native custom of adoption in default of legitimate heirs, he procured the *éscheat* to the British Government of various large areas of territory, including the State of Nagpore; and in one memorable case, that of Oudh, on the ground of notorious misgovernment, he set aside the reigning dynasty and annexed the province. This was in 1856, and it may have been one of the causes which contributed to the great Indian Mutiny in the following year, a time of horror and of heroism, of the massacre of Cawnpore, of the siege and capture of Delhi, of the Relief of Lucknow. No nobler names are recorded in English history than those of the Englishmen who faced, and the survivors of whom weathered, the storm. Havelock, Outram, the brothers Lawrence, John Nicholson, Herbert Edwardes, and many more who might be named, stand out not merely for courage and endurance, but for rare chivalry and loftiness of aim. England owed much, too, to the resolute commander-in-chief, Lord Clyde, better known as Sir Colin Campbell, and to the brilliant general in Central India, Sir Hugh Rose, Lord Strathnairn. The last smoking ashes of the Mutiny were not stamped out until 1859, and before the rising was over the end had come of the East India Company. In 1833 the Company's charter had only been renewed on the express condition that it should cease to be a trading

company, and now by an Act of 1858—"an Act for the better Government of India"—the Government of all the territories belonging to or under the rule of the Company was vested in the Crown. It was time to make the change; companies can create empires, but they are not framed to rule them. The merchants had done a great work which will live for all time, but it was for the Government of Great Britain alone to control the future destinies of India. On the 1st of January 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India; and in 1878-80 there was a second Afghan war, more successful than the first, but yet a critical and dangerous war, in which Lord Roberts first made his great reputation.

The
Secretaries
of State.

The Act of 1858 brought into being a Secretary of State for India who, with a Council provided for by the law, was to control in England the administration of the great dependency. Already, on the eve of the Crimean War, the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies had been separated from the War Office, and the Colonial Office was for the first time in history placed under a single undivided head.

The Malay
Peninsula.

That Office in 1867 took over from the India Office charge of the Straits Settlements, and in 1874 the islands of Dinding and Pangkor and a strip of mainland opposite, known collectively as the Dindings, were added to the colony. The native states of the mainland were in a state of anarchy, a haunt for pirates in the creeks and up the rivers; and, in order to safeguard trade, the system was at this date inaugurated of placing British Residents in the States, to advise and in practice to control the native Sultans. There was a native outbreak against the new order in 1875, the British Resident of Perak was murdered, troops were sent in, and after some bush fighting order was restored. Then began a notable era of progress: tin-mining and

Chinese immigration under British rule, exercised in the name of the native rulers, combined to make the Malay Peninsula one of the most prosperous regions within the whole circle of the British Empire. By this time the English had found their way back into the islands, to Borneo. The East India Company had from time to time planted factories in Borneo, and did not finally give up all connexion with the island till the beginning of the nineteenth century. About the year 1840 an Englishman, James Brooke, visited Borneo, and, having given assistance to the Sultan of Brunei, received a grant of the district of Sarawak in the north-west of the island. He became, as Rajah Brooke, the English ruler of an independent state; and his nephew, the present ruler, is still independent, though under British Protectorate and leaving foreign relations in the hands of the British Government. There was much piracy in Borneo, calling for the services of British men-of-war, and, with a view to its suppression, the Sultan of Brunei, through the good offices of Rajah Brooke, was in 1846 induced to cede the little island of Labuan at the mouth of Brunei Bay to the British Government. The first Governor of Labuan was Brooke himself.

Far more important was a Chinese island acquired in 1841, the island of Hong-kong. From the seventeenth century the East India Company had carried on trade at Canton, and when, under the terms on which their charter was renewed, the Company ceased to enjoy the monopoly of British commerce with China, a special officer was, in 1834, sent out from England to supervise the trade. There was constant friction between the English merchants and the Chinese officials, the importation of opium being an important item of dispute. Eventually, in 1839, there was open warfare; and when war was ended by the Treaty

of Nankin in 1842, the possession of Hong-kong was confirmed to Great Britain, and five ports in China, including Canton and Shanghai, were opened to British trade. There was a second war in 1856; it was ended for the moment by the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858. War broke out again in 1860; and after the Taku forts had been bombarded and taken, the Manchus' summer palace looted, and Peking occupied, a more permanent peace was established by the Convention of Peking which confirmed the Tientsin Treaty. The English gained, as the result of the war, the promontory of Kowloon, over against the island of Hong-kong, and thus controlled both sides of the harbour. As has already been suggested, these Chinese wars are not among the most glorious episodes in English history. An adequate case could be made out for them, and was made out by men of the type of Lord Palmerston. There was some incident that gave occasion, China was under a decaying alien dynasty, official corruption was rife, there was negation of justice, barbaric cruelty. The Chinese, as represented by their rulers, were at the time impossible from the point of view of modern international dealings. But, after all, the root of the matter lay in the fact that Europeans wished to trade freely in China, and that the Chinese wished to keep themselves and their country aloof from Europeans. The opium question tainted the English case; and if forcible entry into China by Western nations was inevitable, at least it can be recognised that there is something to be said in criticism of a policy which insisted that Western merchants and Western missionaries should be upheld by guns and ships among a reluctant people, rooted in many centuries of continuous industry and reverence for the ways of their ancestors.

Cyprus.

In 1878, by an Anglo-Turkish Convention, England gained

a third Mediterranean dependency, the island of Cyprus, which, as we have seen, the Crusader King Richard I. had taken long years back in 1191, and where he married his Queen Berengaria of Navarre. It was ceded by the Sultan of Turkey, to be occupied and administered by Great Britain, in return for a promise by England to join in the defence of the Sultan's Asiatic dominions if attacked by Russia, and an annual tribute was to be paid to Turkey. The present war has resulted in cancelling Turkish rights and giving to Great Britain unqualified tenure of the island.

From the date of the battle of Waterloo the nineteenth century was prolific in exploration. Polar regions and tropics alike were explored. James Cook was the first man to cross the Antarctic circle in 1773. In 1823 Weddell did memorable work amid the southern ice, and his name remains in the far south. In 1839-43 James Ross, sent out by the British Government, with the *Erebus* and *Terror*, carried discovery in these regions further still. In 1818 an Act of Parliament was passed "for more effectually discovering the longitude at sea, and encouraging attempts to find a northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and to approach the Northern Pole." This Act, which embodied and expanded two older Acts of 1745 and 1776, offered a reward of £20,000 to him who should first find and sail through a northern passage between the oceans, and of £5000 to him who should first approach within one degree of the North Pole. It was passed, as its words said, in the interests of commerce and science, for science had come in to revive the old quest for a North-West or North-East passage. Then ensued the voyages of Parry, of the Rosses, the land travels and the voyages of Sir John Franklin, followed again by the search for Sir

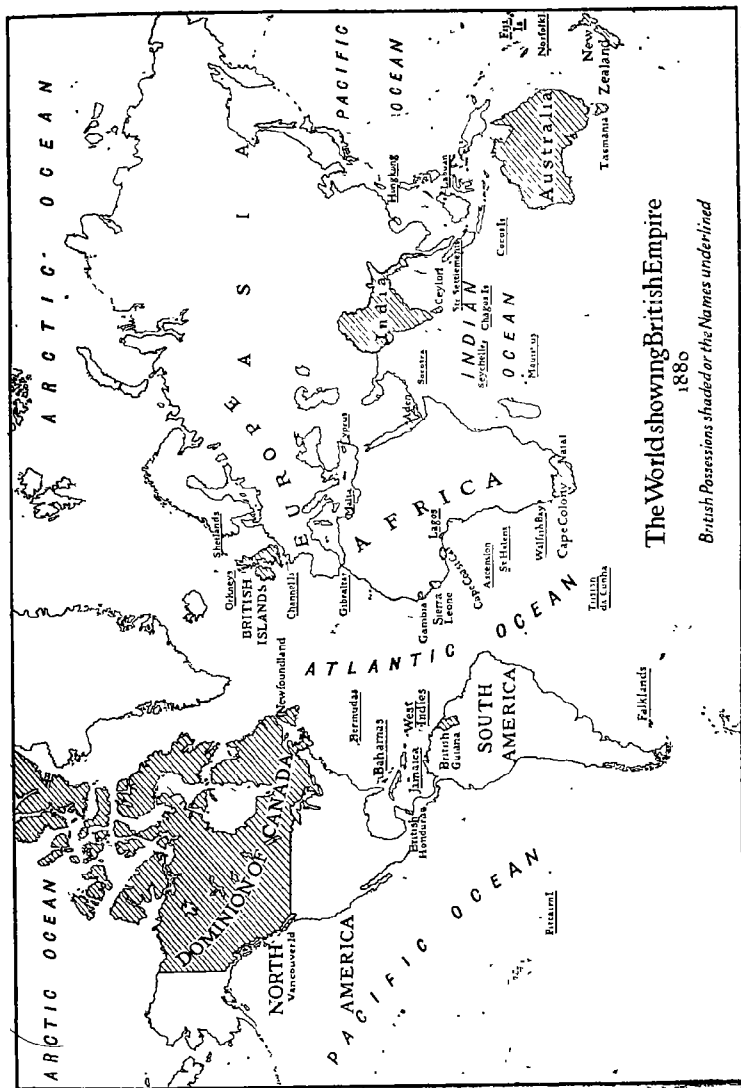
Exploration.

The Polar regions.

Africa.

The
opening of
Africa.

John Franklin, who never returned ; and at a later date came Sir George Nares' voyage towards the Pole in 1875. Science gained, geography gained, and the old hope of a practicable northern route to the Indies was finally put to rest. Explorers were equally active in the central regions of the earth. Australian discovery has been already noticed. Better known to the world than the Australian discoverers were the men who opened up Africa, and greater were the fruits of their work. At the end of the eighteenth century the same spirit of enlightenment which killed the slave trade and founded the free colony of Sierra Leone, created the African Association for the promotion of discovery in Africa, and under its auspices Mungo Park made his way to the upper course of the Niger. Park held the Niger and the Congo to be one, and in 1816 the British Government sent expeditions, which met with little success, to explore either river. Clapperton carried on Park's work, and eventually Lander in 1830 traced the true course of the Niger to the sea. A little before 1850 began the exploring work of David Livingstone, noblest by far of all discoverers. He made known Lake Ngami ; he crossed Africa, first of white men, from one coast to the other, from Loanda to Quilimane. He traced the course of the Zambesi and the Shiré rivers and discovered Lake Nyasa. Speke and Burton discovered Lake Tanganyika. Speke sighted the Victoria Nyanza, and, with Grant, penetrated into Uganda and found out the source of the Nile. Baker discovered the Albert Nyanza. Later explorers, notably Stanley, completed the unveiling of Africa. In all the previous centuries Africa, nominally a continent, had been little more than a coast line. Egypt had run her course in touch with Asia rather than with Africa. The north coast of Africa had been but the southern fringe of



the Mediterranean basin. West Africa had been a series of headlands on the way to the Cape, and later the eastern shore of the great Atlantic Lake, over which black men were ferried to its western side. East Africa, in like manner, had been but the western bound of the Indian Ocean, dominated by Arab influence. At the southern end was a peninsula wholly detached from the main continent. All was now changed. Men began to turn their eyes inland. A line of lakes and rivers marked the length of the continent from south and north. The Zambesi, the Congo, the Niger called inland from east and west. For the first time in history Africa took status as a continent, and in this great awakening area, awakening just as steam and telegraphy were coming into power, something like a new British Empire was brought into being.

From 1880
onwards.

In 1880 a Liberal Government came into office in England, headed by Mr. Gladstone, Prime Minister for the second time. Of all English statesmen he had the least love of annexation, the least desire to dominate other lands and peoples. He had been the chosen agent to cede the Ionian Islands to Greece, and he began his second Government with withdrawal from Afghanistan, and retrocession of the Transvaal. Yet it was during these years, and in spite of the political views of those who governed England, that a new forward movement began, which has not yet spent its force.

Egypt.

In the first place, from 1882 must be dated the beginning of England in Egypt. Egypt is now under British Protectorate, and the Hinterland of Egypt, the Sudan, which has its own outlet to the sea at Port Sudan, is held jointly under the British and Egyptian flags. The Government of the Khedive was deeply indebted to foreign bondholders, and on their behalf England and France controlled

Egyptian finances. In 1882 there was a rising under Arabi Pasha ; France refused to take active steps in co-operation with England, and England intervened alone. Alexandria was bombarded, Lord Wolseley broke Egyptian resistance at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and England became practically mistress of Egypt. She had come in avowedly with no intention of staying, Ministers were explicit to that effect, but, as often before, circumstances were too strong for statesmen and England stayed. The Egyptian control of the Sudan broke down before the fanatical forces of the Mahdi. General Gordon was sent to Khartoum early in 1884 ; an expedition designed to relieve him and commanded by Lord Wolseley was sent too late. Gordon and Khartoum fell in January 1885. The British Government then withdrew from all responsibility for the Sudan, with the usual result that in a few years' time civilisation again encroached upon savagery. Under Lord Kitchener's firm, strong hand, steadily and surely ground was regained. In 1898 the battle of Omdurman was won and Khartoum recovered, and in a few months more Mahdism was blotted out. From that day to this British control and the work of engineers, in constructing railways and storing water, have brought to Egypt and the Sudan constantly growing and almost uninterrupted prosperity.

In 1881 a British company, which had secured territorial rights in North Borneo from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu, obtained a royal charter. This was the oldest of a new series of chartered companies, including the Royal Niger Company, which received a charter in 1886 ; the Imperial British East Africa Company, whose charter dates from 1888 ; and the British South Africa Company, incorporated in 1889. Three of these four companies, it will be noted, were concerned with Africa. They differed from the old

The new
chartered
companies.

German
competi-
tion.

The self-
governing
colonies.

Railways.

chartered companies in that the charters given to them prohibited instead of conceding monopoly of trade, and that the Crown assumed no sovereignty over the territories which the companies had acquired. Thus the old-tried British machinery for making empire, the chartered company, came to the fore again in latter-day guise. At the same time the stimulus of foreign competition was applied, for a new and powerful competitor entered the field in Germany. The Franco-German War of 1870 had consolidated Germany, and, following the law of national development, United Germany entered upon the path of colonial expansion. Africa and the Pacific were the two main parts of the earth's surface which Europeans had not yet wholly divided into lots among themselves; and here, in the 'eighties, Germany took her place in the sun. There was yet another motive force to be reckoned with. This was the pressure of the younger peoples of the British Empire upon the Government of the Motherland. Self-government is at once the child and the parent of self-confidence; young democracies look forward, not back; and when the young and the old are linked together, from the young come aspiration and initiative, with the old is the restraining sense of responsibility. As far back as 1875 three of the Australian colonies recommended annexation of New Guinea; in 1883 the Government of Queensland actually annexed part of the island, and the Home Government, having repudiated the action taken by the colony, was forced to act itself in the following year. All these three factors, chartered companies, foreign rivalry, growing strength and sense of strength in the self-governing colonies, acted and reacted on one another—it would be hard to say which was cause and which was effect—and all the time the work of railway-making and telegraph-laying was becoming more

and more skilled employment, far-sighted men discerning the unrivalled potency of the railway in controlling and consolidating inland territories. Cecil Rhodes was the father of the British South Africa Company. In October 1897, exactly eight years from the date when the charter was granted, he had completed continuous railway communication from Capetown to Buluwayo, which in 1889 was but the head kraal of the savage Matabele King Lobengula.

These were the main sources of the latest phase of British expansion, and those who wish to trace in detail the acquisitions made in the last thirty or thirty-five years can best do so by reference to the international agreements which partitioned up Africa and the Pacific. Wars gave something to England in South Africa and elsewhere; but more was given by native cession and by peaceful agreement with other European Powers, contracting as to where one European possession, protectorate, or sphere of influence should begin and another end, as to who should take this or that province or island, to which neither of the contracting parties had in the origin of things the remotest claim. And yet it was not simple greed of territory that led England on. Protection of natives, substitution of civilisation for savagery, were in the minds of British Governments, as they were slowly and reluctantly driven forward and again forward; and so with the English generally. It was not trade interests merely that took them into Central Africa. It was also the preaching and the example of Livingstone.

In North America and the West Indies there is no gain of territory to be chronicled since 1880; on the other hand, these years have been conspicuously a time of filling empty spaces, of joining province to province, of adjusting inter-

North
America
and
British
Guiana.

national questions. In 1885 there was a second rising of half-breeds in the north-west of Canada. It was suppressed by the Canadian militia under General Middleton ; and Riel, who had again led the rebels, was taken and hanged. With this exception, the making of transcontinental railways, the peopling of the prairies, the final settlement of the boundary line with the United States—the latest arbitration having been that on the Alaska boundary question in 1903—have constituted the history of the Dominion of Canada. Anglo-French and Anglo-American disputes in connexion with fishing rights on the coasts and in the waters of Newfoundland have been peacefully settled. The boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela on the one hand, Brazil on the other, has been decided by arbitration. In the Pacific there have been large gains. Various groups of islands were acquired in the Western Pacific, such as the Solomon Islands, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Tonga group. The New Hebrides were placed under the joint control—the condominium—of Great Britain and France. New Zealand was given a dependency in the Cook Islands, which have since been incorporated in the Dominion, and the Commonwealth of Australia one in British New Guinea, now called Papua. This, the south-eastern end of New Guinea, was appropriated in 1884 after urgent pressure from Australia to take action, and after Germany had secured her slice. Among other scattered islands in the Pacific, unconsidered trifles picked up by England at this season, was Fanning Island, where the Pacific cable is landed on its way from Canada to Australasia. In the meantime Western Australia in 1890 received responsible government ; and, by an Imperial Act of 1900, the Australian colonies were federated into the Commonwealth of Australia.

The
Common-
wealth of
Australia.

In West Africa, except on the Gambia River, where the

English have somewhat receded in favour of the French, there has been notable extension of territory since 1880. West
Africa. Sierra Leone gained additional hinterland. On the Gold Coast a final Ashanti war led to the annexation of Ashanti, and behind Ashanti is the Protectorate of the Northern Territories. Lagos, before it was amalgamated with Southern Nigeria, had already acquired a Protectorate far inland. Southern Nigeria began about the year 1884 as the Oil Rivers Protectorate, including the delta of the Niger, and taking its name from the palm oil which constituted its main value to traders. Behind it the National African Company had, by treaties with this native state and that, already secured British predominance on the Lower Niger. There followed Protectorate by the British Government and incorporation of the Company under the title of the Royal Niger Company. Various Conventions demarcated English, French, and German spheres; in 1899 the administration of the Company's territories was transferred to the Crown; and Lagos, Northern and Southern Nigeria are now united into one great province, extending from the sea to Lake Chad, and with a railway carried from the Port of Lagos, across the Niger River, into the heart of the continent.

Very fruitful, too, have these later years been in South South
Africa. Africa. The Transvaal Boers, having regained their independence, overran their borders on west and east, and on either side the British Government was forced into action. On the west, in 1885, after Boer freebooters had been cleared out, British Bechuanaland was annexed, and a Protectorate proclaimed north of it up to the 22nd parallel of south latitude. On the other side, Zululand was annexed in 1887, and ten years later was, with Amatongaland, incorporated in the colony of Natal, which had received self-

government in 1893. In 1884 the Germans came into South-West Africa, acting while the British Government hesitated, taking all Namaqua and Damaraland, except Walfisch Bay, over which the Queen's sovereignty had been proclaimed in 1878. About the same date began great finds of gold in the Transvaal, bringing in a stream of immigrants, the ultimate cause of unrest, revolution, war, and annexation. The British South Africa Company received its charter in 1889; in 1890 Mashonaland was occupied; in 1891 the charter was extended to cover great regions beyond the Zambesi; in 1893 Matabeleland was conquered; and at the end of December 1895 Jameson, the Administrator of Matabeleland, broke into the Transvaal Republic with a small, armed force of the Company's men, to precipitate a still-born revolution. After the raid the Company was placed under Imperial control; but in the Transvaal friction grew stronger between the Uitlanders, kept outside the pale of citizenship, and the Boers, aware of their danger and arming for war. In October 1899 the war began, the burghers of the Orange Free State and many of the Dutch Cape Colonists throwing in their lot with their kinsfolk beyond the Vaal. For over two and a half years the fighting went on, until, on the 31st of May 1902, the Boers accepted the inevitable issue, and the citizens of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, already annexed, became subjects of the British Crown. In 1906 and 1907 responsible government was given to the late Republics, and in 1910 the four self-governing colonies—the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State—became one under the title of the Union of South Africa. In Southern Rhodesia there had been a native rising in 1896, a second Matabele war supplemented by a less dangerous outbreak in Mashonaland. But

this was the end of native trouble, and the coming of the railway facilitated administration and control. In 1904 the line had been carried up to the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi, the Falls were spanned, and by the end of 1909 the railway reached the frontier of the Congo Free State.

The great territory of Northern Rhodesia, not far short of 300,000 square miles in estimated area, has on its eastern border another British province, the Nyasaland Protectorate. Here, on the western shore of Lake Nyasa and, south of the lake, in the Shiré Highlands, are the lands especially associated with the work and memory of Livingstone. Missions followed where the great pioneer missionary had pointed the way, and commerce combined with philanthropy to form the African Lakes Company in 1878. Nyasaland was excluded from the sphere of the British South Africa Company, when in 1891 the charter of that Company was enlarged to cover the territories now included in Northern Rhodesia, and in that year it was formally proclaimed to be under British Protectorate. Known for a while as the British Central Africa Protectorate, it recovered its old name of Nyasaland, and in history, as in geography, it holds a place midway between British South Africa and British East Africa.

In East Africa England might have had for the asking all that and more than is English now. In 1877 the Sultan of Zanzibar offered to Sir William MacKinnon, then Chairman of the British India Shipping Company, who traded with East Africa, a concession of the whole of his coast-line; and the coast-line of the Sultanate of Zanzibar meant the coast-line of East Africa northward of the Portuguese possessions to beyond the Equator. But no encouragement was given by the Government at home; while England

waited, here, as on the western side of Africa, the Germans came in; and various international agreements, the most important of which were made with Germany in 1886 and 1890, resulted eventually in the present British Protectorates of Zanzibar, East Africa, and Uganda. MacKinnon and his friends founded a British East African Association, which in 1888 was incorporated as the Imperial British East Africa Company, and for the first few years British East Africa and Uganda were the charge of this Chartered Company. Native interests and suppression of the slave-trade had been among the grounds put forward in support of the charter; and travellers' reports, together with the record of mission work, attracted attention in England to the East African regions. As early as 1876 the Church Missionary Society had sent missionaries to Uganda, far inland beyond the Victoria Nyanza. Roman Catholic missionaries followed, and in the centre of Africa the Christians contended with heathendom and also with one another. In 1885 Bishop Hannington was killed, like Patteson in the Pacific, a martyr to his faith; and when the Company, drained by constant expenditure, determined in 1891 to withdraw from Uganda, religion and philanthropy combined with trade interests to stir the Government to action. A special commissioner was sent out to Uganda; and, on receipt of his report, it was eventually decided to buy out the Company alike from East Africa and from Uganda, to substitute for merchant rule the authority and responsibility of the Crown. This step was taken in 1895, a British Protectorate having been formally declared over Uganda in the previous year, and a railway was constructed from the port of Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza, connecting the great inland sea with the Indian Ocean. Thus at the present day Zanzibar, East Africa,

and Uganda are under the direct control of the Crown, exercised under the guise of Protectorate, and on its northern side Uganda marches with the Sudan.

There is one more African Protectorate to be noticed, Somahland. dating from 1884. This is Somahland, with its ports of Berbera and Zeila, lying over against Aden. The Protectorate was acquired at the time when outlying Egyptian garrisons had been withdrawn from the Red Sea regions, in consequence of the pressure caused by the revolt of the Mahdi and his following. Here a Mullah has played on a smaller scale a similar rôle to the Mahdi, and British administration at the present time does not extend beyond the coast-line. Here, too, at the North-East Horn of Africa the English are side by side with the Italians, late-comers, like the Germans, into ventures beyond the seas. The Protectorate in its early years was a dependency of Aden and therefore of India. It passed into the keeping of the Foreign Office; and finally, like the other African Protectorates, was handed over to the charge of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In India the Burmese War of 1885 ended in the occupa- India
and the
Far East. tion of Mandalay, the deposition of King Theebau, and the annexation of Upper Burma. Much fighting in small campaigns has brought accretion of territory on the north-west frontier. In the Malay Peninsula the system of British Protectorates has been greatly extended. The older protected states were federated, and by agreement with Siam new states have been brought under British control, so that the whole southern portion of the peninsula is now a British dependency. In Borneo, the state of North Borneo, administered by the British North Borneo Company, the state of Sarawak, and all that remains of the old native kingdom of Brunei, from which the other two states were

carved out, are all under British Protectorate ; the island of Labuan has been incorporated into the colony of the Straits Settlements, which also includes the rich little phosphate-bearing Christmas Island far out in the Indian Ocean. The island of Singapore, which wise Sir Stamford Raffles took for England, is now the centre point of the British Malay Indies, a small empire in themselves. In China two new acquisitions have been made, both on lease. In 1898 a ninety-nine years' lease was obtained from the Chinese Government of a mainland area behind and adjoining the peninsula of British Kowloon, and through the leased territory runs a railway which connects Hong-kong with Canton. In 1898, too, as against the occupation of Port Arthur by the Russians and Kiaochau by the Germans, Great Britain obtained the lease of Weihaiwei in North China at the mouth of the Gulf of Pechilé. Like Hong-kong, this dependency consists of an island and a mainland peninsula. The harbour is a very fine one, and the lease tells us that it was granted "in order to provide Great Britain with a suitable naval harbour in North China, and for the better protection of British commerce in the neighbouring seas"—a sound reason which would account for other British dependencies older than Weihaiwei.

On a very rough estimate, not far short of three million square miles were added to the British Empire in the reign of Queen Victoria. Yet this last century, as has been said, has been singularly free for England from wars with other European nations. There has been no war with our old-time rivals, with Spain or France or Holland. The main acquisitions were made in the later years of the nineteenth century, and they were made not at the behest of the rulers of England, but rather against their will. Lust of conquest

had died out of State policy, but State necessities remained, and the pressure of national instinct. Hence the British circle grew wider and wider. What was the good of it all? The good of it all was the Empire which we have today. Let us look at it in the coming chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE EMPIRE AT THE PRESENT DAY

An Empire of Diversities

Size of the
' British
Empire.

THE British Empire, as it stands to-day, includes very nearly one-fourth of the total land area of the globe. Bigness is not the same thing as greatness, and a nation must be tried by other tests than ownership of square miles. Much of the vast Dominion of Canada is in the frozen north, much of Australia is in the central desert. Still, for an island in the North Sea to have acquired not far short of a quarter of the surface of the earth, in addition to having given birth to the United States of America, is on the face of it a considerable achievement.

Continental
develop-
ment a
late phase.

The islanders ran to islands, to coast-lines, to peninsulas. They did not, as has been pointed out, overrun continents after the manner of the Spaniards. The English realised that, in Fuller's words, "Islands are easily shut, whereas continents have their doors ever open, not to be bolted without great charges." The continental possessions of England are a late development, the result of expansion rather than of conquest. The earliest fruit of conquest in the seventeenth century was an island, Jamaica. The first addition made to the Empire in the eighteenth century, made by force of arms, was a peninsula, Gibraltar. The

early English settlements were on islands or by the side of the sea. When the English took Canada, they took in effect the valley of the St. Lawrence, the fringes of a great water-way leading to the sea. The continental part of Canada, the prairie land of the North-West, was a later acquisition, gained by gradually moving on, and assured by railways. Writing in 1838, Lord Durham, in his far-seeing Report, makes no reference whatever to the lands beyond the Great Lakes. Canada to him meant only Eastern Canada. When the English took Australia, they took Sydney Harbour, Port Phillip, the island of Tasmania, and points on or within easy reach of the sea-coast. Occupation of the back blocks came later in the day, and the process is continuing year by year. The continental wedges of Africa are recent acquisitions. What English instinct gave to England, and what the English fought to keep and to multiply, was, first and foremost, footholds for a sea-going, trading people, whence they moved on to the Hinterlands by measured steps, and under stress of foreign rivalry. This has been true even in India. It was long before the English gained inland possessions in India, and after all India is a great peninsula.

The inference is that this Empire is not an Empire of continuous subject provinces, like unto the Empires of which we read in history, such as Alexander conquered, only to fall to pieces at his death; or even such as the Romans won by force of arms and kept by more than force of arms, for the Romans had no little of the qualities which have given the English success. It is a growth, resulting in a combination of communities, to an extraordinary degree diverse from one another. By studying the diversities, the nature and the essence of the so-called British Empire will best be understood.

Take first the different size of the different units. Canada Size. is of much the same size as Europe, Bermuda is less than one-seventh of the size of the Isle of Wight. Yet Bermuda is and always has been a separate entity in the Empire. It is and always has been a colony in the true sense of the word, not a mere fortress like Gibraltar, which again is a separate unit, very much smaller even than Bermuda. Bermuda was the second British colony to receive representative institutions, Virginia being the first. The little Bermudian Assembly is, therefore, the oldest Parliamentary institution in the British Empire outside the United Kingdom, and here is a tiny item of the Empire, which none the less is and always has been a self-contained, fully-equipped, component part of the whole.

It hardly needs telling that the self-governing dominions Climate and Products. are for the most part in the temperate zones, the Crown Colonies and dependencies for the most part in the tropics. In other words, in the temperate zones are the lands which the English, with or without other European races, have peopled, while the lands where the English do not settle so much as trade and rule are the tropical regions. This is true as a general statement. Yet it requires great modification. The extreme north of Canada is in the Arctic Zone, the northern half of Australia is in the Tropics. A small part of the Union of South Africa, the north of the Transvaal, is in the Tropics; so is the whole of Rhodesia, an area of settlement, though not yet in the rank of self-governing dominions. The Crown Colonies or semi-Crown Colonies are not all in the Tropics; there are the Mediterranean dependencies, for instance; and, if these are sub-tropical possessions, there is certainly nothing tropical in the climate of the Falkland Islands. The Tropics, too, have in certain instances been homes for British settlers. This has been

the case, as has already been noticed, with the West Indian Islands or some of them. There have been generations of English settlers in Barbados and Jamaica; the fact that representative institutions took root in the West Indies from the early days of the Empire is evidence of British settlement. Every possible variety of climate, from extreme cold to extreme heat, is to be found in the British Empire; the path of the English overseas cannot be traced by following parallels of latitude. It can only be said that the race has multiplied and made new Englands mainly in lands whose climate approximates, however roughly, to that of the old home.

Within this immense range of area and of climate are to be found all the products of the world. We associate Canada more especially with corn, Australasia more especially with wool, South Africa with gold. The West Coast of Africa sends, among other products, palm-oil for soap and candles; there are the sugar-producing colonies, the West Indian islands and British Guiana, Natal, Mauritius, Fiji. The Malay Peninsula is the richest tin-bearing region of the world; Assam and Ceylon send tea; Trinidad and Grenada send cocoa; rubber and cotton come in increasing quantities from many tropical possessions. The lists, which have lately been published, of the gifts made to the mother country from the dominions, colonies, and protectorates beyond the seas at this time of war illustrate the number and the diversity of the products which the British Empire contains, as well as the good-will of its citizens, white and coloured alike. The Empire is a great storehouse of necessities and of luxuries, the component parts supplementing one another in what they produce and send; and, when the dependencies are not directly productive, they are valuable indirectly, Gibraltar to keep the waterway open and the

transport safe, Hongkong as a centre for transit trade almost unrivalled on the face of the earth. One view, then, which may be taken of the British Empire is that it is a gigantic wholesale business under British management, conspicuous for the number of its departments. The English have not specialised in any particular climate or in any particular product. The business is co-operative and profit-sharing, and some of the managers are permanently in residence beyond the seas.

Diversity of climate brings with it diversity of race. *Races.* All nations, languages, and creeds are represented in the British Empire. The self-governing Dominions differ one from another in the matter of race. French and English are side by side in Canada, Dutch and English in South Africa. In Canada the North American Indians are but a small remnant, and so with the Aborigines of Australia. In South Africa, on the other hand, the native Africans far outnumber the white men and multiply instead of decreasing in number. In New Zealand the Maoris take their part in public life side by side with the white citizens of the Dominion. The English race itself develops slightly different characteristics, answering to the differences of climate and geography. The Australian is one type of Englishman, the Canadian is another, and both are slightly different from the Englishman at home, reared in narrower surroundings. Outside the self-governing dominions but inside the Empire the diversities of race are almost countless. How many different races are to be found in India? How many in British Africa? And how many creeds? No ruler, not even excepting the Sultan of Turkey, has so many Mohammedan subjects as King George. Outside China itself and Siam there are probably more Chinese under British rule or protection than under that of any other

Power. Men talk of the coloured races of the Empire and contrast them with the white, as though they were one uniform group. Is the gulf between the Englishman and a high-class native of India as wide as between an East Indian and a Solomon Islander? Men talk of India as if it were one country with a homogeneous population. Its unity is derived from British administration and railways alone; it is the home of competing races and religions, a land of diversity, not of uniformity.

The tenures
on which
the Empire
is held.

Diverse, again, are the tenures by which the English own their Empire. Most of the soil is British soil, made British, however, in different ways—by settlement, by conquest, by purchase or free gift from the inhabitants or the ruler who represented or claimed to represent the inhabitants at the particular time. The man or woman born on British soil is a British subject or citizen. Outside territory which is British soil there are territories which are British Protectorates, and the natives of which are not British subjects by the strict letter of the law. It is, or was till lately, not always easy to decide where British soil ends and British Protectorate begins. The Protectorates again vary in kind and degree. There are the Feudatory States of India; there are the Malay States, where the sultans rule through British officers; there are the Protectorates of the Western Pacific, where the only rule is British. When the nations of Europe, thirty years ago, were pegging out claims in Africa, there came into being something less than a Protectorate, a Sphere of Influence. English and French, or English and Germans, agreed that north or south of a line of latitude, or east or west of a line of longitude, or on this side or that of a river, one nation should cease to intrude, and should acknowledge the intrusion of the other. It was all irrespective of native rights of ownership: the one nation

or the other might protect or annex the regions so marked out, or it might not; but, as against each other, the rival Europeans were in legal phraseology estopped. These Spheres of Influence have shaded into Protectorates; and that the Protectorates, outside India, approximate more and more to annexed territories is shown by the fact that, whereas a few years ago great tracts of Africa were in the keeping of the Foreign Office, they have now, with the exception of Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan, all been handed over to the charge of the Colonial Office. We have seen that the Sudan is nominally under the joint control of the British and the Egyptian Governments, and that the New Hebrides are under the joint Protectorate of Great Britain and France. Cyprus, till the other day, belonged to Turkey, and was only assigned to Great Britain to be occupied and administered; yet it was for all practical purposes a British dependency. The leasehold tenure of Weihaiwei and the district of Kowloon has been noticed.

Differing in kind and in population, the provinces of the British Empire differ conspicuously in their constitutions and political status. The great main division is between the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies. Between them stand certain colonies which have representative institutions, but not responsible government; while India, though in effect approximating to a Crown Colony on a great scale, is in a class by itself.

The Con-
stitutions
of the
Dominion
and
Colonies.

When the English first went over the seas, they went either simply to establish trade factories, as in India and on the West Coast of Africa, or to settle, as in the West Indian islands, in Virginia, and New England. Those who went to settle held that they took with them the rights and the liberties which they had enjoyed in England. As the Greek colonists of old went out on terms of being equal, not

The self-
governin
Dominio

subordinate to those who remained behind, so the Barbadian colonists at the time of the Civil War in England, which had its counterpart in Barbados, maintained that they should not be "subjected to the will and command of those that stay at home." Self-government in one form or another was thus inherent in the early overseas settlements, varying in kind and degree according to their origin. The Puritan colonies of New England were the most democratic, and Connecticut and Rhode Island elected their own governors. But there was not responsible government among them, as responsible government is understood at the present day. In other words, they did not enjoy, as an acknowledged right, well-defined self-governing constitutions on the English model, if only for the reason that responsible government did not at the time exist in England. Responsible government means party government. The executive officers are chosen from the party which has gained a majority at the last General Election. They sit in one or other of the two Houses of Parliament, and they are in effect controlled by the elected House—the House of Commons, or rather by the dominant party in that House. This is the English system; the English view of political liberty involves the subordination of the executive power to the Legislature. The same system does not prevail in the United States, where the executive officers, though members of the party in the State which has gained the upper hand at the polls and has elected the President, are not amenable to the Legislature, and do not sit either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives. Still less is it the system which prevails in Germany. The German Chancellor, the Prime Minister of the German Empire, is responsible to the Kaiser alone; he is not responsible to, and is in no way controlled by the Legislature.

Responsible
government.

The German Empire possesses representative institutions but not responsible government.

Responsible government in the British colonies dates, as we have seen, from Lord Durham's mission to Canada in 1838 and his Report of 1839. Within ten years it was firmly established in North America, and in no long time became the acknowledged form of government for the British colonies in the temperate zones. When once conceded by England, it was readily given in future cases, as soon as circumstances permitted, the mother country being in some instances at least as anxious to give as the colonies were to receive. The sequel to the grant of responsible government was federation in the different groups of self-governing colonies. British North America led the way by constituting the Dominion of Canada in 1867, or rather by forming at that date the nucleus of the Dominion of Canada in the federation of three provinces, to which subsequently the other parts of British North America, with the exception of Newfoundland, adhered. It was in the British North America Act that the term Dominion first came into modern usage in connexion with the British Empire. The Act provided that the three provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick "shall form and be one Dominion under the name of Canada." Dominion was a name familiar in English overseas history. The loyal colony of Virginia, whose arms were in Stuart times quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was known as "the Old Dominion"; and the term seems to have been adopted in the case of Canada as being akin to the title of Kingdom, which had been contemplated when the Confederation of Canada was in the making. At the present time the self-governing colonies of the Empire are entitled Dominions, Newfoundland alone, the oldest of all,

Responsible
govern-
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followed by
colonial
federation.

The word
Dominion.

retaining the name of colony. The Federation of Canada was followed by the Federation of Australia, the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act being passed in 1900, at the time of the South African War ; and nine years later, as the result of that war, came the Union of South Africa, the South Africa Act being passed in 1909. At the present day, therefore, the self-governing Dominions include five colonies or groups of colonies, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the colony of Newfoundland. New Zealand, which was the product of an earlier federation of distinct colonies or settlements in the islands, took the title of Dominion in 1907.

These federations were in all cases not opposed, but, on the contrary, welcomed and encouraged by the mother country. There was one instance, a long time ago, in which the Home Government refused sanction to an attempt at federation. This was in the case of South Africa in the years 1858-59. Sir George Grey was then Governor of the Cape Colony, and having lately, as Governor of New Zealand, introduced a federal system into those islands, he proposed a similar constitution for South Africa. It involved acceptance of an offer from the Orange Free State, at the time an independent republic, to federate with the Cape Colony ; and the scheme gave alarm to the ministers in England, afraid of extending their responsibilities in South Africa. But not very long afterwards, in 1875, Lord Carnarvon, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, having in his previous tenure of office carried the British North America Act, set on foot a movement, premature at the time, for " a possible union of South Africa in some form of confederation." Thus the policy of the British Government in the last half century has been the direct reverse of the policy *divide et*

impera. It has been to stimulate and to promote the growth of larger units in the self-governing portions of the Empire, thereby adding to their strength, their self-reliance, and their nationhood.

They differ widely from one another, these self-governing dominions, not only in the matter of race, geography, and the like, but also in the matter of constitutions. The Dominion of Canada is a strongly-bound confederation. By the Confederation Act certain powers are assigned to the different provinces, which have their provincial legislatures ; but the Dominion Parliament, which has, like the English Parliament, two Houses, a Senate and a House of Commons, is the residuary legatee of all the powers which have not been so assigned. The Upper House in the Canadian Parliament, the Senate, is composed of members nominated by the Governor-General, who nominates on the advice of his Ministers. The Commonwealth of Australia is a loose confederation of States, jealous of their separate rights ; and at the present day State Governors are still sent out from England, in addition to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth. In Australia the States, not the Commonwealth, are the residuary legatees ; they retain all the powers which have not been, by the Act which formed the Commonwealth, specifically handed over to the central Government. The second chamber in the Commonwealth Parliament, the Senate, is far more powerful and far more democratic than the Senate in Canada. The senators are elected on the same franchise as the members of the Lower House, the House of Representatives, the vote being given to all adult white citizens, not incapacitated from voting, whether men or women. But, as in the case of the United States, all the States of Australia return the same number of senators, irrespective of population ; the federal nature of

The three
Constitu-
tions of
Canada,
Australia,
and South
Africa.

the constitution is thus emphasised ; and for the Senate each State polls as a single constituency, on the principle, to use a French term, of *scrutin de liste*, with the effect that the Upper House in the Commonwealth is even more democratic than the Lower. The South African Union is a Union, not a Federation. The four colonies which form the Union of South Africa, great as is their extent, cover a far smaller area than the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia, and could therefore more easily be centralised. The Union is not as large as the State of Queensland. Here, too, the presence of a coloured population, outnumbering the white men, brought home the necessity for a strong central government. There are Provincial Councils in the four provinces, which deal with certain matters, the most important of which is elementary education, but the Union Parliament is paramount in every respect. Traces of federation are to be found in the fact that the four provinces, which at present form the Union, send an equal number of members to the Senate, but in ten years' time from the date of the Union this provision may be changed. The Senators are not elected directly by the people, and neither in South Africa nor in Canada has the vote been given to women.

Widely different are the present self-governing dominions from the self-governing communities which Lord Durham contemplated, far wider are their powers of self-government. He recommended, with more than the wisdom of his time, self-government within well-defined limits, but self-government which would have left the colonies subordinate to the mother country. The English love of gradual growth, English contempt for logical reasoning and cut and dried system, the spread of knowledge, the increase of appreciation and sympathy, quicker and more constant communica-

tion, have begotten mutual confidence and enlarged liberty. Subordination has melted into partnership, and the Dominions at the present day are side by side with the mother country as younger partners in a family firm. There is the common bond of allegiance to the Crown. There are certain subjects in regard to which Imperial control may be exercised over the legislation of the Dominions. Foreign relations are at present in the hands of the Imperial Government. But Australia, for instance, has her own Army and her own Navy; she is supreme within her own house, and outside of it, where Australian interests are concerned, her voice is heard. In England she has her special representative, a High Commissioner, as have also Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand. In these self-governing Dominions England has brought new nations to birth, and watched over them to manhood.

The growth of partnership between the self-governing Dominions and the mother country is illustrated by the evolution of the Imperial Conference. Beginning in 1887, at the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, with a general gathering of overseas representatives, not entirely confined to the self-governing colonies, and without any defined form or any attempt at rule or system, the Conference, meeting usually at intervals of five years, has now become a recognised body for discussion and advice, presided over by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and having for its other constituents the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the five prime ministers of the five self-governing dominions. Ministers of state at home and from the Dominions take part in discussions of matters which are under their special charge; and, while the decisions adopted have no binding force, such as would attach to the proceedings of a formally constituted legislative body, the path of

The
Imperial
Conference

Empire is smoothed by discussion of difficulties, interchange of views, and friendly agreement between those who for the time being are controlling policy at home and beyond the seas. Gradually and surely there is coming into existence, by consent, a species of machinery for ensuring that the self-governing component parts of the Empire shall act in unison, for reconciling local autonomy with Imperial unity, or rather for providing that the whole shall reap the full advantage of the diversity of the parts. For the Dominions differ in kind from one another, at least as much as any one of them differs from the mother land. This is a point which is too often overlooked. Men talk and write as though the Dominions were one homogeneous whole; but, while they all, as compared with the mother country, have the common attribute of youth, in other respects, they differ from one another in outlook, in geography, and history, in the colouring which geography and history have combined to impress upon them. The mother country may be regarded from one point of view as the oldest and predominant partner, but from another standpoint Great Britain is the connecting link between the overseas nations of the Empire.

Colonies
with repre-
sentative
institutions
but not re-
sponsible
govern-
ment.

Between the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies proper there is an intermediate class of colonies, which have representative institutions in a greater or less degree, but have not responsible government. The most interesting historically of these colonies are Bermuda, Barbados, and the Bahamas, for they represent what remains of colonial self-government as it came into being in the early days of British settlement beyond the seas. The antiquity of the Bermudian House of Assembly has been noticed; before the middle of the seventeenth century Barbados had its Parliament. After the Restoration, the then Lords Proprietors of the Bahama Islands sent instruc-

tions to their Governor to summon all the freeholders in the islands to elect representatives to form a Parliament. These were days when Canada was New France, when Australia had been sighted but was unknown, when South Africa meant the Cape with a handful of Dutchmen under Table Mountain, planted there by the Netherlands East India Company to hold a half-way house on the way to the East. Other islands in the West Indies had their Assemblies; the colonists of Jamaica, in particular, struggled hard with the mother country in defence of their constitutional privileges. The West Indian colonies, or some of them, had their own agents in England to safeguard their interests and plead their case. As late as the year 1845 a Parliamentary Return gave a list of such agents appointed by the Legislatures of different West Indian Islands. But the trend of history in the West Indies was in the direction rather of restricting than of extending self-government. This was the inevitable result of the Plantation system and the multiplication of slaves. The white men became more and more small oligarchies in the midst of a population which had no rights of citizenship, and the Imperial Act of Slave Emancipation was the strongest possible exercise and evidence of Imperial control. Still, Barbados at the present time retains in the hands of its elected representatives complete power over the local revenues, and, except that the appointment of most of the higher executive officers rests with the Home Government, the Barbadians are for all practical everyday purposes a small self-governing community, with unbroken tradition of English liberty and English constitutional rights. In Jamaica the constitution has been changed more than once. At the present time there is a Legislative Council with an elective element, but an official majority can, if necessary, be secured. In British

Guiana there is a complicated constitution, a legacy from Dutch times, and here, in regard to financial matters at least, the elected representatives are in a majority. Outside the West Indies, Cyprus is a case where the elected members are in a majority in the Legislature, the elected members themselves being chosen, three by Mohammedan inhabitants of the island, nine by non-Mohammedans. Malta has been the scene of much constitutional friction and frequent constitutional changes; in its latest phase the constitution gives an official majority over the elected members in the Legislature.

Crown
Colonies.

The normal constitution of a Crown Colony consists of a Governor, who is advised by an Executive Council consisting of the principal officers of the colony, and a Legislative Council presided over by the Governor, and composed of members all nominated by or on behalf of the Crown, some official, some unofficial, and representing as far as possible different classes, races, and interests. The official element is in a majority. This cardinal fact of the ultimate power resting with the Crown, as represented by the Governor and his advisers, and behind the Governor by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, is the leading characteristic of the Crown Colony. The ultimate power is, to use a term which in Lord Durham's time was a term of abuse, in Downing Street not in the colony. Against Downing Street the colonial reformers of Lord Durham's day poured out vituperation. Government from a distance they denounced in the most scathing terms, but they denounced it with special reference to communities which were English or European by settlement. Lord Durham wrote of Lower Canada: "The colony has, in every crisis of danger, and almost every detail of local management, felt the mischief of having its executive authority exercised on the other side

Govern-
ment from
a distance.

of the Atlantic." Sir William Molesworth in the House of Commons laid down that "the one great cause of colonial complaint is irresponsible government from a distance." Gibbon Wakefield wrote of Colonial Office bureaucracy as being contrary to the old traditions of English colonisation, and as only working at all because of the English character which somewhat neutralised a bad system: "Even the Colonial Office bureaucracy, worse though it is in one sense than a Prussian bureau, still, being composed of Englishmen and breathing the air of England, is not so bad as a bureau of Prussians would be if they were placed in the same false and corrupting position." The proved impossibility of effectively governing from a distance communities of Englishmen or of Europeans who, like the French Canadians, had become associated with English political traditions and principles, was the reason why responsible government was granted to British North America, Australasia, and South Africa. It was granted in order that the root of government should, for all ordinary purposes, be in the soil of the colony, not in that of the motherland beyond the seas. Molesworth, in his hatred of government at a distance, as exercised by the Colonial Office of his day, made the sweeping assertion that "in every portion of the globe, the British colonies are more economically and better governed in proportion as they are self-governed." But in the case of dependencies with a large native population, the fact that the ultimate control is at a distance has proved to be an undoubted safeguard; while the evils and drawbacks attending on distance have in these latter days been minimised by the beneficial agency of scientific inventions. The telegraph ensures speedy and uninterrupted communication; steamers facilitate the coming and going of men, bringing first-hand knowledge to and from the centre of

government. There have been cases, notably in New Zealand, where the relations between white men and natives have, after years of warfare, been wisely and sympathetically adjusted by the Government on the spot; and there have been cases, more frequent in earlier years, notably the case of Lord Glenelg's South African policy, in which ignorance in England of local conditions and disregard of the advice of responsible men in the colony has wrought grievous consequences. But the fact that, in 1883-84, the Basutos, who had been in arms against the Government of the Cape Colony, elected of their own free will to be severed from that colony, and to be placed under the direct control of the Imperial Government; that from that day they have prospered and multiplied exceedingly; that recently, at the time when South African union was being consummated, they, together with the natives of the South African Protectorates, were apprehensive lest they should be removed from the control of the Home Government, may be taken as evidence that the native subjects of the King look to the Government in England for good, not for evil; that the coloured man finds in government at a distance, if well represented on the spot, in the existence beyond the seas of an ultimate authority and final Court of Appeal, remote from prejudice of race or colour, the most effective guarantee for protection of his rights against either a white oligarchy or oppressors among his own native kind.

Diversity
in the
Constitu-
tions of
the Crown
Colonies.

The diversity which marks the whole British Empire marks also the constitutions of the Crown Colonies. We have taken the normal constitution of a Crown Colony as including a Legislative Council, all the members of which are nominated, not elected, and in which there is an official majority. Such is the constitution of the Straits Settlements, but two of the unofficial members are nominated

by the Chambers of Commerce of Singapore and Penang. In Ceylon there is a further modification: four of the unofficial members are elected by the European urban residents, the European residents in the country districts, the burghers or Eurasians, and the educated Ceylonese other than the burghers or Europeans. Of the unofficial members who are nominated by the Governor, two represent the Low Country Singhalese, one the Kandians, two the Tamils, and one the Mohammedans. In Hongkong, among the unofficial members of the nominated Legislative Council, two are as a rule Chinese, and the Justices of the Peace and the Chamber of Commerce respectively nominate a member. In this colony the Executive Council, which advises the Governor, is not composed wholly of officials, but includes two unofficial members. In British Honduras, while on the one hand there are no elected members in the Legislative Council, all being nominated, on the other hand the unofficials outnumber the officials, and the colony is therefore hardly a Crown Colony. Here again the Executive Council contains an unofficial element. In various colonies there is no Legislative Council at all. At Gibraltar the Governor is the sole fountain alike of government and of legislation. In St. Helena there is an Executive Council but no Legislative Council; the Governor makes the laws. The High Commissioner for South Africa legislates for the Crown Colony of Basutoland. His laws take the form of proclamations.

The constitutions of the Protectorates are as various as those of the Crown Colonies. Some Protectorates are not to be distinguished from Crown Colonies. The East Africa Protectorate, in which there is a considerable number of white colonists, has an ordinary Crown Colony constitution. In the sister Protectorate of Uganda there is no Legislature.

The Pro-
tectorates.

Here there is a native King, and a British administrator or Governor with a staff of British officers under him. In some cases, as in that of Sierra Leone, the Legislative Council of a Crown Colony has power to legislate for the adjoining Protectorate. North Borneo is a Protectorate, though exclusively under the control and administration of the Chartered British North Borneo Company. Rhodesia, which must also be classed among Protectorates, is administered by the British South Africa Company under the close supervision of the High Commissioner for South Africa. In Southern Rhodesia there is at the present time a Legislative Council, a minority of the members of which are nominees of the Company, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, and a majority are elected. No Legislative Council would be looked for in a Pacific Protectorate, such as the Solomon Islands. The fountain of law and order is the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, acting under the Secretary of State and through a Resident Commissioner, and deriving his power from the Orders in Council passed with reference to the Western Pacific. The High Commissioner for the Western Pacific is also Governor of Fiji, which is a Crown Colony, officials predominating in a Legislative Council, which also includes six elected and two native members.

High Com-
missioner.

The term High Commissioner has been much used in the evolution of the British Empire. Its simple meaning is a man who has had an important charge committed to him. We have seen one application of the term to the representative in England of one or other of the self-governing dominions. A colony had or had not an agent in England. The agent of a self-governing colony became known as an Agent-General, and each of the Australian States which compose the Commonwealth still has an Agent-General in

London. The agents of a group of self-governing colonies federated into a dominion, or in the case of New Zealand, of a colony raised to the status of a Dominion, became known as High Commissioners. The name is also applied to the governor of territory which is not, strictly speaking, British territory. Thus the Governor of Cyprus has hitherto been known as High Commissioner, because Cyprus was only "occupied and administered" by Great Britain. The recent declaration of a British Protectorate over Egypt has been coupled with the appointment of a High Commissioner. The rule is not always followed. There is little uniformity in regard to use of terms, any more than in regard to much more important matters in the British Empire; the administrator of the East Africa Protectorate, for instance, is styled Governor, and of Somaliland, Commissioner. Still there are conspicuous cases in which one and the same man is Governor in regard to British territory and High Commissioner in regard to British Protectorate. As has already been stated, the Governor of Fiji is High Commissioner for the Western Pacific; the Governor-General of South Africa is High Commissioner for the South African Protectorates; and the Governor of the Straits Settlements is High Commissioner for the Protectorates of the Malay Peninsula and for the old sultanate of Brunei in the island of Borneo.

Those who wish to study diversity in the British Empire India. can find sufficient evidence of it in India alone. If we turn to the Interpretation Act of 1889, we find that the Act provides that "the expression British India shall mean all territories and places within Her Majesty's dominions, which are for the time being governed by Her Majesty through the Governor-General of India or through any governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of

India," and that "the expression India shall mean British India, together with any territories of any native prince or chief under the suzerainty of Her Majesty exercised through the Governor-General of India, or through any governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India." In other words, the expression India for legal purposes includes soil of India which is under British Protectorate, as well as soil of India which is owned by Great Britain. Before the time of Warren Hastings there was no Governor-General, and Calcutta had no pre-eminence over Bombay and Madras. Hence, at the present day, the presidencies of Bombay and Madras stand on a slightly different footing from the other large units of British India, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, like the Viceroy of India, are appointed directly from home. We have seen how the administration of India by the East India Company was placed by William Pitt under a Board of Control, and how at the time of the Indian Mutiny the whole administration was transferred to the Crown. For the President of the Board of Control was substituted a Secretary of State for India. This great dependency, an Empire in itself, absorbs the whole attention of one Cabinet Minister, while another, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, takes charge of all the business connected with the other overseas Dominions, colonies, dependencies, and Protectorates, except Egypt and the Sudan, which are in charge of the Foreign Office, and Ascension Island, which is in the care of the Admiralty. The Secretary of State for India differs from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in that by law a Council is attached to his office, and the decisions taken are, formally at any rate, in most cases the decisions of the Secretary of State in Council. The Councillors are nominated by him to hold office for a term of years, and the large

majority of them must be men of comparatively recent Indian experience. Two of the members are native members. Thus is government from a distance safeguarded in the case of India. But there is also much government and most effective on the spot. In India itself the supreme power is vested in the Viceroy and his Council, answering on a great scale to the Executive Councils in the Crown Colonies; and this Council is expanded for legislative purposes into a Legislative Council, in which, in addition to officials, there is now an elected as well as a nominated unofficial element, though a government majority is always maintained. There are similar Legislative Councils in Bombay and Madras and in other of the great Indian provinces, and in them the unofficial element is in a majority. Thus for legislative purposes the elective system, familiar in England but unfamiliar in India, is gradually being introduced, and the natives of India are being given a voice in making the laws which they have to obey. But it must be repeated, and should always be borne in mind, that India was never all one even when the Mogul Empire was at its full strength, and such unity as it possesses is derived from British control. The provinces differ widely one from another, and outside the 1,100,000 square miles which are actual British territory are nearly 700,000 square miles of States and Agencies, under native rulers, such as the Nizam of Hyderabad, all of them in varying degrees subordinate to the Government of India. They may be classed as Protectorates, their foreign relations are in the hands of the Government of India, their armed forces are limited, and British Residents or political advisers are side by side with the native administrations. They may be said to have local self-government, in the sense that the Government is on their own native lines, but not in the sense of repre-

sentative government. In matters of Imperial interest they are under British control.

East Indian
colonisation.

It would be difficult to overrate the importance of India not only as a great unit in the British Empire, but also as a factor in making the Empire. In moulding India the English have been moulding themselves. Even as a source of colonists India has played and is playing a noteworthy part. Reference has been made to the indentured coolie system, whereby, when slave labour came to an end, the sugar plantations in the West Indies and elsewhere were supplied by voluntary contract with East Indian workers. The system has resulted in East Indian colonisation on a large scale. The incoming coolies, when the time covered by their contracts has expired, have elected in many cases to stay in the colonies instead of returning to India, and at the present day two-thirds of the population of the African island of Mauritius are East Indians, a little less than one-half of the population of British Guiana, about one-third of the population of Trinidad. In Fiji at the time of the census of 1881 the East Indians numbered about 600; thirty years later, at the census of 1911, they numbered 40,000, between a quarter and a third of the whole population. Tamil immigrants from Southern India form the labour supply of the tea plantations of Ceylon, and abound in the Malay Peninsula. Coolie immigration into Natal has been brought to an end, but the Asiatics in this sugar-growing province of South Africa outnumber the Europeans. One view, then, which may be taken in estimating the position of India in the British Empire is that, as Great Britain has sent its surplus population to the self-governing Dominions, so India from her teeming millions has supplied colonists to the tropical or sub-tropical regions. In the coming time India may be looked on as a kind

of mother country to the tropical dependencies of the Empire.

But the main debt of England to India consists in the fact that India has been the training-ground of British administrators. In this great Eastern land the English capacity for ruling has been most fully developed. In our own days and under our own eyes, on a smaller though still on a great scale, the same capacity has been conspicuously fruitful in other parts of the world, in the Malay Peninsula, in the Sudan, in tropical Africa. But the original training was given in India. Here the English were brought into contact not merely with coloured races but with Eastern civilisation, traditions, creeds, customs, with a long and great past. Here they learnt to handle peoples, who had for centuries taken form and shape, and whose history was longer than their own, to deal with religions and social structures not to be uprooted without creating anarchy and nothingness. That contact with the East in earlier days tainted Englishmen by appealing to greed and giving openings for gain, has been already admitted ; even as the barbarism of West Africa taught English traders to be inhuman ; but, on striking a balance between good and evil, it may fairly be summed up that Great Britain and India have derived from one another far more profit than loss. The possession of India, the responsibility for India, the elaborating of details, the constant necessity for adapting means to ends, for creating machinery which will work smoothly instead of dumping down machinery which will grind, the study of language, of custom, of reasoning, of mode of thought and life, all alien, all worthy of study, most of it worthy of preservation, all this and much more has made the Englishmen in whose charge India has been from generation to generation

India as a
training-
ground for
adminis-
trators.

men of strong type and wide outlook. Responsibility for India has enlarged the horizon of statesmen in England, because the State which they served and serve has meant not merely the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, but also a great Eastern dependency, with unlimited possibilities of good or evil for England, and for which England has and will have to give account. If responsible government has been the making of the self-governing dominions, by placing upon the children of the soil responsibility for the fortunes of the soil, on the other hand responsibility for the security and welfare of an Eastern empire, where the people have never known traditions and methods of representative government and have ever looked up to rule from above, has done much to thrust greatness upon the race which controls and works the machinery of administration.

British
adminis-
tration.

The Indian
Civil
Service.

Of all bodies of public officials outside the mother countries the Indian Civil Service is by far the greatest. For some long time past recruited by open competition, from which natives of India are not excluded, and in which they number at the present day about 65 out of a total of some 1300, this service has produced a class or race of administrators, rising from the charge of districts to the government of provinces. The unit of administration is the district, administered by a district officer; and there are more than 250 of such districts, varying in size, in geographical conditions, in number and kind of population. The British territory in India, as opposed to the States under British protectorate, is divided into regulation provinces and non-regulation provinces, though year by year the distinction tends to be less clearly marked. The regulation provinces are, from the British point of view, the older provinces, which have been longer

under direct British control, and where administration is more highly developed. In these regulation provinces are some non-regulation districts, and by their side are non-regulation provinces, the district officers in non-regulation areas being known as deputy commissioners, whereas the district officers of regulation districts are collector magistrates. In these non-regulation provinces and districts, in the past at any rate, the man has counted for more and the system for less than in the older provinces and districts, duties being more combined in single hands ; and in them members of the covenanted services are supplemented by uncovenanted civilians, who have not passed through the strait gate of competitive examination, and by military officers in civil employ. The covenanted civil service, again, is throughout all the provinces supplemented by a Provincial Civil Service of between 2200 and 2300 members, nearly all of whom are natives of India ; while outside British India proper, in the feudatory states, Englishmen are serving as political or financial advisers to the native rulers.

Following the example of India, Ceylon has its Civil Service, similarly recruited, so have the Straits Settlements and the Malay Protectorates. So has Hongkong. Throughout the British East there is a fully organised and comparatively well-defined system of administration. The Sudan is administered by British officials, mainly recruited from Oxford and Cambridge, not by open competition but by selection, for the merits of open competition have counterbalancing drawbacks, and intellectual ability, so far as success in examination is a test of intellectual ability, may be combined with poor physique, weak character, and absence of qualities likely to attract and win the respect of coloured men. In the older communities of the West

Other
Civil
Services.

Indies the ranks of the Government services are mainly filled by West Indians, only a small minority of high officials being supplied from home. The English officers who administer West and East Africa or the Pacific colonies and Protectorates are sent out from England, selected by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Going round the world, British Government services, from the Indian Civil Service downwards, would be found in different stages of organisation and adapted to different conditions; and everywhere it would be noted that, as far as possible, British rule rather supplements than supplants, rather works through than overrides the régime to which the natives of the land have been habituated. Native sultans or kings, tribal systems, village communities, all are utilised as machinery which is familiar to the people of the soil. The end aimed at is law, order and justice, contentment of the governed, development of the natural resources of the lands; the means to the end are modified according to the status and the custom of the natives, provided that the custom is not repugnant to British ideas of humanity.

Law and
Justice.

As administration is adjusted to suit the place and the kind of people, as there is no one uniform system of British rule, so the laws vary, provided that no law is clearly contrary to the main principles on which British law and justice are founded. It would be a long and complicated matter to give in detail the many different legal systems which prevail in the British Empire. "In the great majority of the British colonies," to quote Sir Courtenay Ilbert, "the common law is that of England, either brought by the colonists at the time of settlement or introduced by subsequent legislation." But, as he shows, there is French common law, more or less, in colonies which once were French, such as the Province of Quebec; Roman Dutch

common law, more or less, in colonies which once were Dutch, such as the Cape. Statute law varies, and there is infinite variety of legislation and legislative methods in dealing with native questions and native customs. In India Hindu and Mohammedan law holds good for the Hindus and Mohammedans respectively in domestic matters, such as inheritance. In Cyprus Mohammedan religious courts have been maintained for trying Mohammedan religious questions, and the basis of the land law in the island is Ottoman law. In Nigeria natives keep as between themselves native law and custom, so far as it is not repugnant to natural justice or to special statutes. In Fiji regulations for the well-being and good government of Fijians are passed by a Native Regulation Board, subject to approval by the Legislative Council. Instances might be indefinitely multiplied to show that the aim of the British Government, in regard to law and justice, has been and is to establish judicial tribunals which shall inspire the confidence of the governed by being strong, independent, and beyond all suspicion of corruption; to introduce, so far as it is possible, English criminal law and criminal procedure; and outside criminal law to interfere as little as may be possible with the laws or the customs which have commended themselves to the native races.

But British rule has meant more than giving law, order, and security. It has meant carrying Western science and British constructive ability into other regions of the globe. The English were not pioneers of irrigation in India or Ceylon, as the old tanks and reservoirs testify; but at least they have proved themselves in these latter days worthy successors of the most enlightened of beneficent native rulers in the past, with forces at their disposal which the men of the past did not possess. In India the area of land

Public
Works:
Irrigation
and
Railways.

under irrigation is considerably larger than the area of England and Wales, and the canal system of the Chenab in the Punjab has turned over 3000 square miles of desert into grain-growing lands, supporting over a million of human beings. In Egypt the Assouan dam controls the flow of the Nile, and secures continuity of water supply. Railways combine with canals and reservoirs in India to break the force of the periodical famines. They have brought and are bringing in a constantly growing degree of light and civilised life into the centre of Africa. The English do not stand alone as makers of railways and irrigation works, but they may fairly claim to have been among the leading pioneers of modern days in reclaiming land, and carrying road and rail through jungle and backwood, across mountains and rivers. Those who study Lord Durham's Report will note what importance this reformer of colonial constitutions attached to public works in the colonies, and to what extent he foresaw that scientific invention would model the future of the Empire. The effect on native minds cannot be overrated. If, after they have found out by actual experience that life and property are secure from tribal raids, that they are no longer at the untender mercy of chief or king, that they can obtain even justice in land disputes, and redress when they have been robbed or maltreated, their eyes go on to tell them that it is made easy to bring their small wares to the best market, and that their fields are steadily watered and produce full crops year after year, then they realise day by day that civilisation is better than barbarism and give ready assent to an alien rule, because it is not only just but sympathetic and the source of happiness in everyday life.

Medical
work.

The same reasoning applies to another most important branch of the British public services beyond the seas. To

no department of government activity has more anxious attention been given by the English in the last thirty or forty years than to the medical services, and in no direction has Western science proved more effective or made greater advance. Well-equipped hospitals are to be found in town and country, and every colony or dependency has an organised staff of medical officers. At the Colonial Office there is an Advisory Medical Committee for Tropical Africa, a Tropical Diseases Bureau, and a Tropical Diseases Research Fund. In connexion with the Universities of London and Liverpool there are schools of Tropical Medicine. There is a Colonial Veterinary Committee to investigate diseases of animals. Scientific research is conquering malaria, the trypanosome, and the tsetse fly, and unhealthy lands are being made healthy for coloured men as well as for white, for animals as well as human beings. Here again the English are not by any means alone in good work, but they have been to the front in it, and, having the widest opportunities, they and their American brethren, as illustrated in the Panama Canal zone, have produced the most fruitful results.

If the English have achieved success beyond the seas in the field of administration, to what causes is the success to be attributed? One great cause is that they have been trained in the work, not for generations merely, but for centuries. Here is one advantage which they possess over their would-be competitors the Germans. The Germans are newcomers into the field of colonial administration. Long years ago, towards the end of the seventeenth century, when Prussia was rising under the Great Elector, the Brandenburgers went to the Gold Coast, and, like English and Dutch and Danes, built a fort upon the Coast, Fort Fredericksburg, with two or three small outlying forts;

Causes of
British
success in
adminis-
tration.
(1.) Long
and varied
training.

but, after forty years had passed, the forts were sold to the Dutch, and the Germans thenceforward had no possessions beyond the seas until after 1880. That this has been the case, that the Germans have sought a place in the sun late in the day, after most places had already been occupied, has not been due to any malevolence on the part of other peoples. England was never at war with the German nation till the last few months; she never, until the present war broke out, took a yard of land from Germany. If overseas Empires are to be regarded as prizes, it was the misfortune of German history and geography that Germany could not at an earlier date enter for the competition. United Germany was a necessary preliminary to a German Empire beyond the seas, and United Germany did not come into being till 1870. But Empires are not prizes to be knocked down to the highest bidder; they are trusts to be administered by skilled and trained trustees. This training the English have had; they have accumulated a store of experience, of tradition, of precedents; they have learnt by place as well as by time. It is not only that for three centuries they have been steadily going to school overseas, but that they have been learning their lesson among all sorts and conditions of men, in all sorts and conditions of lands and climates; they have been taught not only what to do but also what to abstain from doing, which is perhaps the more important lesson for those who wish their work to be of permanent value. They have gone through a very long apprenticeship, and a long apprenticeship is needed by nations who would build enduring structures beyond the seas. The English may be devoid of "Kultur." Let us hope that they are, if we are to judge of it by recent illustrations. But they have something which is infinitely more valuable than Kultur, and that is practical experience.

Another cause which has contributed to British success is that, as a general rule—though there are exceptions—the English have grasped and acted upon the very simple truth that, if work is to be well and honestly done, the workers must be well paid. This was the lesson which Clive taught in his second administration of Bengal, when in the teeth of virulent opposition he struck at the corruption and peculation which had disgraced the officials of the East India Company, and assured to them remuneration sufficiently liberal to take away excuse for illicit gain. It is in India that this sound principle of paying well and expecting much in return has been most consistently followed out, with the most striking results. It is a commonplace in our days, at any rate in England, that, if government is to be clean, the men whom the Government employs must be adequately paid; but there was a time when it was almost as much a commonplace that inadequate salaries should be paid, because a government post would carry with it opportunities of making money over and above the wages of the post, and this was especially the case when government was in the hands of merchants. In India there have been and would still be infinite facilities for making ill-gotten gains, but the Indian Civil Service, apart from all deterrents to misconduct, apart from all traditions of righteousness and honour, is, when looked upon in the light of a professional career, one of the best of all openings for young, able, and ambitious Englishmen. It offers responsibility, hard and most interesting work, the prospect of great distinction, the certainty of good pay while serving, an assured provision on retirement. Ruling has become a profession for Englishmen, and one of their highest professions. In the early days of the Malay Protectorates, the Governor at the time of the Straits Settle-

(ii.) Ade-
quate pay.

ments, under whose supervision the Protectorates were and are administered, visited the protected Malay State of Perak. The British Resident introduced to him one of the leading Chinese capitalists in the State. The Chinese said to the Governor: "What a wonderful Providence is this by which you English come here and rule, and we Chinese come in and make our money!" Such a comment would not have been made in India before Clive cleaned up the administration of Bengal; it might not be made to-day, were not English officers at once well paid, and the heirs of long and honourable tradition.

(iii.) British character.

A third, and perhaps the main cause of British success in the field of administration beyond the seas is British character, as it has developed under the training which the developing Empire has given. There is in the English, even those who do not love them will admit, a strong sense of justice and a love of fair play. In the self-governing dominions and Crown colonies alike alien Europeans find that they are at no disadvantage as compared with British citizens; coloured men have in nearly all cases more confidence in English judges than in those of their own race. The spirit of fair play has been notably fostered by the system of the great English public schools, and a large proportion of those who go out to serve the Government in India and the tropical possessions have been brought up under that system. But there is another most useful quality which the Englishman possesses. The British sailor is called the handyman among Englishmen. The Englishman is the handyman among European peoples. "Of all the nations in the world at present," wrote Carlyle in *Past and Present*, "the English are the stupidest in speech, the wisest in action." It is the practical capacity of the Englishman, his readiness to adjust the means to the end, his

indifference to routine and rigid system, which, under conditions at once requiring and stimulating this particular quality or type of character, has enabled the English race to handle with at least some considerable measure of success great areas and millions of human beings.

The British Empire, then, is an Empire of endless diversities, and to hostile critics this is an obvious sign of weakness. The German believes, or professes to believe, that it is unsound to the core, ready to break up under any adequate pressure from without or within. The German view and the English view are diametrically opposed, and the two contending principles are at issue in this war. The German, or at any rate the official German, believes in force, overpowering and constantly in evidence, in rigid system, in uniformity. The Englishman believes in adequate force, but not more than adequate, and as little in evidence as possible; he believes to some extent in system, for all good government implies some measure of system, but in system combined with elasticity; he has no belief whatever in uniformity. The German proclaims to the world that the best thing for the world would be that it should be dominated by German Kultur, and he makes no secret of his strong desire to impose that Kultur by force of arms. The Englishman may believe that it would be best for the world to be made English, but he does not say so, and he does not act as though that were a cardinal article of his creed. Like the Romans of old, and to a greater extent, the English have been conspicuous in their Empire for toleration of language, race, and creed. The latest illustration may be found in the method of declaring a British Protectorate over Egypt. The Khedive has been deposed, but independence from Turkish suzerainty has been coupled with adherence to the old order by substituting for the

Diversity
and
Uniformity.

Khedive a Sultan of the royal or Khedivial stock. It has been formally announced that "the religious convictions of Egyptian subjects will be scrupulously respected, as are those of His Majesty's own subjects whatever their creed," that "the strengthening and progress of Mohammedan institutions in Egypt is naturally a matter in which His Majesty's Government take the deepest interest." "Naturally" is the word used. It is taken to be natural for the Christian English, in their dealings with Mohammedans, to be interested in strengthening Mohammedan institutions, because the English have long been called upon to guide the destinies of millions of Mohammedans, and have realised that respect for and interest in what Mohammedans hold dear is the one sure road to winning assent to British guidance and control. Lord Durham, strong Liberal as he was, looked to the absorption of French-Canadian nationality as an inevitable and desirable object to be aimed at and worked for; but, as self-government in Canada was actually conceded and elaborated, French-Canadian nationality has been preserved in full vigour, and the French and English languages, like the two races who use the two languages, stand side by side on a precisely equal footing in the Dominion Legislature. It is the same in South Africa with language and race. The first Prime Minister of the South African Union was and is the most conspicuous of the Boer generals who, seven years before the Act of Union was passed, had been in arms against the British Government. A similar story is to be told all the world over where the English have control. *Imperium* goes hand in hand with *libertas*; there is regard for diversity of blood, language, custom, and religion.

Is the highest object of Empire uniformity or diversity? and is diversity likely to be an ultimate source of weakness

to the whole, or is it likely to be a source of strength ? The answer to the first question must depend upon the particular point of view from which an Empire is regarded, and upon the estimate which is formed of the particular people or race who have acquired and hold the Empire ; nor would any answer satisfy truth which did not admit that there must be in the actual working out of what is called an Empire a certain amount of compromise, some blend of uniformity and diversity. But there is one view—a perfectly logical view—which may be taken, that the dominant people, having proved their superiority by becoming dominant, serve best not only their own interests but also the general interests of mankind by forcibly imposing, as far as is humanly possible, their own type upon all alike who are subject to their rule, by eliminating to the utmost elements of difference, and insisting to the utmost upon a single mould. This seems to be the view which underlies the German doctrine of *Kultur*. The strongest, best educated, and most efficient people in the world—assuming them to be so, and they must needs constitute themselves judges in the case—have a mission to remake men in their own image. There is a diametrically opposite view—the English view—that the best use to which an Empire and a governing people can be put is to combine general supervision and control with toleration, and not toleration only, but encouragement of diverse customs and characteristics, so far as the customs do not conflict with what civilised nations hold to be fundamental rules of humanity. The reason for giving preference to this latter view is that, whether mistaken or not, the policy is one of encouraging, not blotting out life, of taking different types as being in a greater or less degree according to nature, and, instead of imposing from above other and more advanced types, giving as far as possible fuller life

and higher development to what nature has brought into existence. Uniformity may be produced, but it can only be produced by a killing-out process ; toleration of diversity means the preservation and the betterment of the different kinds of human life and human activity, which have given colouring and shade to the world. It cannot but be that human beings, if given favourable conditions, will develop better on their own than on other peoples' lines ; and the great merit of the British Empire is that where England has gone two blades of grass have grown where one grew before, that with many mistakes and shortcomings the Empire is, none the less, perhaps the most effective human machinery which has so far been produced for enabling men and women in every stage of development to make the most and the best of themselves.

But this may be the case, and yet it may fairly or plausibly be argued that an empire as a whole must be a weaker structure in proportion to the extent to which its component parts are diverse from one another, that uniformity must be a source of strength. There is much to be said for this view, and it is not easy to gain guidance from past history. Far the longest-lived empire in historical times has been the old Roman Empire, and the Roman Empire was a military despotism. On the other hand, the Romans were conspicuous among all the peoples of the ancient world for public works, for roads, bridges, water-works, such works as make communication easy, quick, and constant, such as promote the material welfare of peoples ; they were conspicuous, too, for toleration of local customs and creeds ; their type was that of Gallio, who cared for none of these things. Was it their military strength which held their empire so long, or was it their toleration and practical usefulness ? If it was their military

strength, still they and their empire must be judged by the standard of their centuries, not by that of ours. The present war will tell us whether military despotism can in modern days win an empire. If the Germans succeed, the question will still remain, Can a military despotism under modern conditions hold an empire in permanence? Uniformity can only be attained by force. But, if attained, will it result ultimately in a stronger whole than can be reached, though only with a considerable amount of risk in the process, through diversity? The British nation within the narrow bounds of the United Kingdom is itself a conglomerate of diversities. It is a nation and a strong one, but the diversities within it are patent and on the surface, as well as fundamental. A strong community is a community full of life. A strong body is a body full of life; it has many members, and all members have not the same office. So with a community; it has more life in proportion as each of its component parts has more life, and as each gives in full measure its own particular contribution to the whole. We do not want to duplicate each other in sterile repetition; we want to supplement one another, each to give to the common stock what our brethren do not possess and cannot give. That is the value of diversity: if wisely handled, it means partnership and co-operation, and the whole which includes such diversities includes all the elements of life in their fullest vigour. Diversities may be and must be a danger to an empire in the making. This danger may be eliminated by crushing them out, but life and growth are crushed out with them. On the other hand, the danger may be risked and surmounted by wise statesmanship and practical good sense, with an incomparably greater outcome for the future. This is the possibility possessed by the British Empire.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEANING AND USE OF THE EMPIRE

WHAT is the conclusion of the whole matter ? By way of summary, let us go back once more to the old questions in their baldest form. What were the motives and causes which brought this Empire of ours into existence ? What was there at work other than ordinary commonplace greed, the greed we see every day in public and in private, the desire to have what we have not but others possess, to take it by fair means or plausible or foul means ? Setting aside political incidents, and kings, and treaties, and all the trappings of history, can honest, impartial statement set down the British Empire to anything else than greed of Englishmen, private Englishmen, associations of private Englishmen, governments representing, or professing to represent, Englishmen ? What substantial evidence, again, is there that the peoples, whom the English by whatever means have brought under their control or into their orbit, have benefited by being included in this Empire and are content to remain in it ? Statistics, it will be said, will prove anything that the English compilers want them to prove. There can always be found a native ruler, a chief, a headman who, for a consideration, will expatiate on the advantages of the British connexion. A pretty word like Protectorate can always be used. The newspapers like to

talk of Empire, "to split the ears of the groundlings." But is there real reason to think that those who are not English in the Empire set store by British citizenship? Are they more than passively content to put up with the Empire, simply for the reason that they cannot at the moment well do otherwise? Take yet one more question, to answer which has been the main aim of this book, What real meaning has the Empire for the ordinary Englishman in the United Kingdom, for the proverbial man in the street, for John Smith who earns his bread with the sweat of his brow, and sometimes cannot earn it at all? What possible use is the Empire to him? Why should he care to know how it came into being? What does it matter to him if it disappears? Is it not little better than an expensive luxury, which the British workman and the British poor could dispense with and be none the worse for the loss, but possibly the better?

It has been attempted to show that all people, white and coloured alike, since the beginning of time, have had the instinct, or the original sin, whichever term may be preferred, of moving from one land to another, of intruding, colonising, conquering, and so forth; and that only through migration and intrusion the world has moved on and become civilised. It has also been suggested, as the teaching of modern history, that overseas colonisation and conquest has always followed upon completion of national unity at home. The first origin, then, of the British Empire is to be found in this common migratory instinct of mankind, and in this law, whereby nations celebrate their nationhood by looking and going outside and opening up fields for expansion beyond the seas. Into the island of Great Britain various races came, most of them Northern races or kindred clans of the same Northern race. They came

Migration
and Ex-
pansion.

forcibly, uninvited, and undesired, against the will of the then inhabitants of the island, whether those inhabitants were or were not aboriginal. The various invaders and the invaded coalesced, at any rate in Southern Britain, and an English nation gradually came into being. As this English nation came into being and grew out of childhood, it gradually became more and more divorced from the continent of Europe, to which it had been attached all through the Middle Ages; more and more it developed its own political and religious type; and more and more it tended to be the dominant partner, the nucleus of union within the British islands. At the time that this home work was being consummated, a New World was discovered beyond the seas, and a new sea route to the East. Other nations than the English made the discoveries, though England can claim Cabot's discovery of North America; and when the English wished to play their part beyond the seas, they found that they were to a large extent forestalled.

Discovery,
trade, and
settlement.

Reverting to the subject-matter of the second chapter, there is an obvious sequence between discovery, trade, and settlement. A man crosses the seas and finds a new land; the first visit leads to further visits, to exploiting the products of the new land and exchanging wares with its inhabitants, if there are inhabitants; this is trade. Repeated visits result in some of the visitors remaining overseas, it may be to hold a trade factory, it may be because the new place attracts as a home; this is the beginning of settlement. The above cannot be called a general rule, because the exceptions are numberless. Discovery may be undertaken simply and solely in the interests of knowledge and science. Modern exploration of the Polar regions has not led, and is not likely, to any appreciable extent, to lead to trade. Cabot's voyages were not followed up immedi-

ately, though they pointed the way to the North American fisheries. Trade, as has been noted, sometimes not only does not promote settlement, but is a formidable obstacle to it. Still discovery, trade, settlement, form a natural sequence. In the course of nature discovery is the parent of trade, and trade is more often than not the parent either of settlement or of permanent footholds in lands which are not fully civilised, as Europeans understand civilisation. The English went over the seas, like other Europeans, either to discover new lands or to discover new routes to new lands which other Europeans had already discovered. What took them across the seas? The first answer is the spirit of enterprise, and especially of sea-going enterprise, which was innate in this mixed race of islanders, and which, as they came to know themselves, to trust themselves and the sea which girded their island, to use the mariner's compass and such inventions as were, in their infancy, helping knowledge and seamanship, woke up within them and gathered strength.

First
motive of
Empire :
Enterprise

As discovery leads to trade, so the spirit of enterprise must necessarily be alloyed with the desire to gain something. If this something is not personal distinction or scientific or religious achievement, it is material gain in one form or another; and the first Englishmen who went over the seas, or most of them, had to the full the acquisitive instinct. In other words, greed came in. All trade can be characterised as greed. The English were human—very human. They inherited privateering blood. They meant their enterprise to be profitable, and they made their profit. Adventurous and greedy, as all men are greedy, they took their way on the ocean, having no empire at all so far, but making, so to speak, preliminary surveys and experiments in the direction of future empire.

Second
motive :
Desire of
gain.

But even at this early stage the total motive force was very much more than love of adventure and greed of gain. The English, as has been abundantly shown, were not first in the field. Other Powers were beforehand, and one of these Powers, Spain, represented military and religious despotism. What was the result ? In going over the seas the English could not satisfy their love of adventure and desire of gain without coming into conflict with Spain ; and, at the same time, they could not feel sure of their own political and religious liberty at home as long as Spain was in the ascendant. The most effective method of defence, we are always told, is to take the offensive. No one knew this truth better than the Elizabethan sailors ; no one ever preached and practised it more consistently than Francis Drake. To gratify, on the one hand, the spirit of adventure and the love of gain, and on the other to safeguard the shores of England and the political and religious liberty of Englishmen, was one and the same process. Thus we find a third motive force impelling on the road to Empire, the instinct to defend home and liberty, and this force has been at work in full potency from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present moment.

Third
motive :
Defence of
political
and
religious
liberty.

The
influence of
religion.

Religious as well as political liberty was at stake. At the present day religious liberty is such a commonplace, and men are rightly so careful to avoid intruding upon religious tenets and religious prejudices, that there is some danger of not crediting religion with all that it has effected in history. Take religion out of English history, and only the skeleton of a history would remain. Try to tell the story of the British Empire, ignoring religion, and the story could not be told. Religion has been a force at every stage. Take the first discoverers. We have seen that Sebastian Cabot, as the first Governor of the Muscovy Company, in its very first beginnings, in the year 1553, gave instructions " for the

direction of the intended voyage for Cathay." He laid down that morning and evening prayer was to be said and read daily on every ship, a minister being on board of the Admiral's ship, "and the Bible or paraphrase to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for His grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the Navigants accordingly." Martin Frobisher, a hard-bitten seaman, in his Arctic voyage of 1578, gave his written order: "If any man in the fleet come up in the night and hail his fellow, knowing him not, he shall give him this watchword: Before the world was God. The other shall answer him (if he be one of our fleet): After God came Christ His Son." Bacon, in his Essay "Of Plantations," writes: "Above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and His service, before their eyes." Religion fired England against Spain, as it fired Spain against England; and in fighting Spain the English were clearing the way for Empire. In the expedition which sacked Cadiz in 1596, Lord Howard of Effingham and Essex put in the forefront of the orders to their officers, "That you take special care to serve God by using of Common Prayers twice every day, except urgent cause enforce the contrary"; and a prayer for the occasion, attributed to Queen Elizabeth, who had in a high degree the love of gain, recites, "Nor greediness of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out army."

There was no hypocrisy in this, any more than in the religious phrases of Oliver Cromwell and his fellow Puritans in the age when, in the words of J. R. Green, "England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible." In that age, the seventeenth century, the Puritan emigration to North America was the result of religion; and though the New England States are no longer within the British

Empire, though none of the colonies which are now under the British flag have been so distinctively the offspring of religion as was New England, yet beyond all question settlement in the British Empire was promoted by religious attraction or religious repulsion. Mention was made in the second chapter of one of the islands in the Bahamas group, colonised from Bermuda and called Eleutheria, now Eleuthera, the island of Freedom. It took its name from the fact that the first band of white colonists came with the intent that "every man might enjoy his own opinion or religion without control or question."

Missionary
influence.

Protestants were not so concerned in early days with wholesale conversion to Christianity as were Roman Catholics; they were rather concerned with protesting and fighting against forcible conversion; they opposed despotism in religion as in politics; and at the same time the Puritans, who took the lands of the heathen in possession, too often looked upon the heathen from the Old Testament point of view. In his *Holy State*, published before the middle of the seventeenth century, Fuller wrote that he was then beginning "attentively to listen after some Protestants' first-fruits, in hope the harvest will ripen afterwards," and in the year 1649 a Society was formed for propagating the Gospel in New England. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge came into existence in 1698, and three years later the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. But the missionary spirit, the evangelical doctrine, the desire to spread the good tidings of the Gospel, did not make itself felt to any great extent, at any rate in the present British Empire, until late in the eighteenth century, after John Wesley had quickened religious life in England and beyond the seas. From that time missionaries have had much to say to the making of the British Empire.

As champions of native races, in one memorable instance, that of the South African policy of Lord Glenelg, they had a retarding influence. The retrocession of the province of Queen Adelaide, with the disastrous results which followed, must in no small measure be attributed to missionaries. But, with this exception, one source and an important source of the expansion of the Empire will be found in the mission field, for the simple reason that missionaries have rightly discerned that protection for coloured men against the incoming white men is to be found in placing the white men under the British Government. The *Times* of the 24th of December last reminds us that, on Christmas Day 1814, the year before the battle of Waterloo, Samuel Marsden, one of the noblest and purest of mission workers, preached the first Christian sermon to the New Zealand Maoris at the Bay of Islands, taking for his text, "Behold I bring you glad tidings"; and that on a plot of ground given him by the natives he planted the British flag, and "flattered himself" that it would not be removed "till the natives of that island enjoyed all the happiness of British subjects." Emphasis has already been laid upon the work of David Livingstone. Here was a missionary explorer who assuredly had no thought of gain. It is not possible to attribute directly to him any extension of the Empire, but indirectly his intrusion into Central Africa, and his continued denunciation of the horrors of the slave trade in Central Africa, the fruit of his religion, was a most potent force in taking the English onward in tropical Africa. Any honest review of the British Empire must put religion high up in the forefront as one of the determining causes; and to the English, with all their backslidings, with all their commercial instincts, in spite of the memory of such iniquities as the slave trade, the words of the book of Daniel may be applied :

"The people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits."

Fourth
motive :
Philan-
thropy.

Hand in hand with religion goes philanthropy. It is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. The religious man loves his fellow-men, he is a philanthropist. Philanthropy has directly added to the British Empire, indirectly it has added much. Sierra Leone is the most notable instance of the direct fruits of philanthropy steeped in religion, the evangelical religion of the Clapham circle, who gave to Sierra Leone as its Governor Zachary Macaulay, the father of the great historian. It was the child of heart-whole enmity to slavery and the slave trade, and it was the beginning of settlement, though coloured settlement, on the West African coast, the beginning of a colony with order and organisation, as opposed to the trader's factory with the slave barracoon. Indirectly philanthropy has been a great Imperialist. It has been noted how often the Home Government has refused to annex, before finally taking the step. The deciding factor, in the Pacific more especially, has been in part at least, if not in the main, appreciation of the fact that the presence of a growing number of uncontrolled white men among natives leads to abuses, that those abuses can be and ought to be stopped, and that there is only one effective method of prevention, the declaration of British sovereignty or Protectorate. The origin of the acquisition of Lagos has been noticed. England, the great slave-trader, in repentance set her hand to suppression of the slave trade. The geographical advantages which Lagos possessed as an outlet for honest traffic made it a slave-trading centre. To put an end once and for all to this nest of slave trading was the plain *bona fide* reason why the British Government took Lagos, now the great port of Nigeria.

Religion, we have seen, has sometimes a repellent force ; in other words, the desire for religious freedom has in past ages taken men to new homes beyond the seas. Freedom is not divisible, political and religious freedom are in effect one and the same, and it has been shown in the second chapter how strongly the desire to flee away and be at rest operated with the English in the seventeenth century. We have given as the third motive of Empire defence of political and religious liberty ; but, in tracing out the influence of religion, we have come to a kindred motive, or rather to another phase of the same motive, *not so much the desire to defend liberty at home as the determination in the pursuit of liberty to find a home elsewhere.* And not in pursuit of liberty only, but in the hope of exchanging poverty for eventual comfort, strife for peace, straitened circumstances in an over-populated and distressed mother country for elbow-room and means of livelihood. All this has been already pointed out. Colonisation—and colonisation precedes as well as follows Empire—is not always the outcome of one land and people wishing to dominate other lands and peoples ; it is not always to be attributed to the greed of those who wish not only to keep what they now have but also to add to it beyond the seas. On the contrary one source of Empire, and a very fruitful source, has been the desire to leave for ever the land which is the motherland, and which none the less, in consequence of this very wish of some of its citizens to be quit of it, becomes the owner of other lands. This source of Empire is specially interesting because, in some cases at any rate, it is diametrically opposite to the motive of greed. The emigrants desire to better themselves, no doubt, but at least they give up their all when they go out, they do not keep their old homes and belongings and merely add to them. The outgoing citizens

Fifth
motive.
Desire for a
new home.

may go to virgin soil, so far as white men are concerned—this was the case with the Pilgrim Fathers in New England—or they may go to an already established colony and strengthen that colony. A good instance of this latter case is the island of Barbados. In the beginning of the troubled days of civil strife at home, the island received a large accession of settlers from England, and as the result Barbados in turn sent out colonists elsewhere. Note the character of these emigrants to Barbados. They were not burning with religious zeal or enthusiasts for popular liberty. The account which Clarendon gives is that Barbados “was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King.” These emigrants wanted to be quiet, and made their home in a West Indian island. Here was a source of Empire wholly removed from greed, the plain simple instinct of finding a place wherein to be unmolested. It was this same instinct which in old days founded so many Greek colonies. In the small, over-populated mother city states of Ancient Greece there were constant revolutions and faction fights. In consequence Greek citizens went out to make their homes elsewhere, and they called a colony an *ἀποικία*, or leaving home. But the Greek colonists, when they went out, abandoned all political connexion with their mother city. Leaving home in their case was not a stepping-stone to Empire.

Sixth
motive :
Growth
necessary
to national
security.

We have seen that in the sixteenth century, before the Empire was yet in existence, a powerful motive of Empire was at work, the instinct of national defence, embodied in the war with Spain, and finding its expression largely in overseas attack. Coming to the eighteenth century and the generations of war with France, when so much of the

Empire was acquired by force and conquest, when national greed was apparently so greatly in evidence, we shall find, if we look into it, that the instinct of defence was at least as powerful a motive force as lust of conquest. The decline of Spain left the field to the nations which had been the common enemies of Spain, and of those nations eventually to England and France. We have already put the question, Why should England have competed with France at all? Why were not the English content to keep their island and their liberties secure, instead of running neck and neck for a world-wide dominion? By way of further answer, let us ask a counter question. If England had imposed upon herself a self-denying ordinance, if she had refused to take part in competition overseas, if she had confined herself as far as possible to her own shores and left France to pursue her career of Empire unchecked, could she have kept her own hearth and home secure? Could she have ensured the liberties of future generations of Englishmen? What does independence mean in the literal sense of the word? It means not being dependent for life, the right to live, and the means of livelihood on any one other than one's self. Is it possible at the present day for a small people among great nations to be independent in this true sense? Is it possible for a small people to be free and self-governing by the strength of its own arm? There can only be one answer now, there has only been one answer in the modern phase of great nations. When modern history was young, when science was young, when great and small nations alike were young, when the resources of greatness and the shortcomings of smallness had not been fully developed, it was possible for the smaller to win their liberties from or to hold their liberties against the greater. The United Netherlands shook the yoke of Spain from off

their necks, the English broke up the Spanish Armada. But, as the world has gone on, the small peoples have existed more and more on sufferance, their liberties being guaranteed by the greater nations, safeguarded in large measure not so much by the generosity of the great as by the jealousy which the great ones of the earth have of one another. It was the Empire which delivered England from living on sufferance. It was the fact that England grew and insisted on growing *pari passu* with the growing power of France. It was the wars with France which brought the British Navy to excellence; it was fighting in all parts of the world that trained English soldiers. The fisheries of Newfoundland were in fact, and were officially recognised as being, a nursery for sailors. Fortresses, like Gibraltar, were taken to safeguard the trade which made England grow, and to be a check on the growth of competitors. Had England taken no concern in these things, could she have held her own with a continental power equipped with great armies and many ships? Would not her passive attitude have invited attack? When the attack came, would she have been able to meet it? Nations, like men, cannot stand still; they grow or they decline; there could have been an England if there had been no English Empire, but it would have been a dependent England. If England has made an Empire, equally the Empire has made England.

Seventh
motive :
The
necessity
of going
forward.

One step leads inevitably on to another, and the last motive or cause of the Empire which need be noticed is the irresistible pressure which circumstances of place and time exercise upon a people having once entered upon the path of overseas enterprise or dominion, the impossibility of standing still, the extraordinary difficulty of retracing steps, and the disaster which usually follows upon any attempt to do so. This is illustrated by the history of the

English in India. They went to India as traders pure and simple, with no thought of dominion or rule. Their representative, Sir Thomas Roe, who stood for England at the Court of the Mogul, in the year 1616 strenuously warned them to confine themselves to trade. Nearly forty years of their existence as a Company passed before they owned a yard of soil in India, and, when they acquired the site of Fort St. George at Madras, they acquired it by grant, not by force. Yet they had to go forward, driven on by the competition of other Europeans and by the anarchy which followed in India on the decline of the Mogul power.

For, where Europeans are side by side either with primitive barbarism or with dissolution of native authority, intervention becomes inevitable if life is to be safe and trade is to be peaceably carried on. In much later days British intervention in the native states of the Malay Peninsula was, as we have seen, simply due to the prevalence of piracy. The British settlement in the island of Penang and the small British mainland area of Province Wellesley adjoined the state of Perak, where piracy was rife. In order to put an end to piracy and ensure peaceful trade, British Residents were placed as advisers to the native sultans in Perak and the neighbouring states. The result was that the Protectorate system grew and grew, in area and in organisation, for the simple wholesome reason that anarchy and barbarism cannot live side by side with law and order. Province Wellesley itself had been bought many years earlier from precisely the same cause, to free the harbour of Penang from the nuisance of piracy by acquiring the mainland coast over against the island. The first British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 was not due to any desire to own the Transvaal, but simply to the fact that the State and its Government had collapsed, and the collapse

was endangering the whole of South Africa, including the British colonies. The English, as we all know, shortly afterwards retired from the Transvaal, a case of going back for which there had been precedents in British history in South Africa, sufficiently noticed already. All this going back in South Africa had but one result, confusion and bitterness at the time, which is the inevitable result of undoing and eventually moving forward again. The price of undoing in South Africa was two and a half years of the last great South African War. In Egypt England intervened simply to restore order, as being one of two Powers specially responsible in the matter. The intervention was avowedly intended to be temporary only. But, having once intervened, the English were compelled to stay, and not to stay only but to take full control alike of Egypt and of the Sudan.

The Empire
is the
result of
growth.

It would be futile to pretend that the English have, in making and adding to their Empire, been solely actuated by disinterested motives. Like their neighbours, they have had a keen eye to the main chance. But it is equally futile to portray the British Empire as the result of greed. Wrong conceptions of the Empire arise from regarding it as the outcome of deliberate purpose, that purpose being always to gain more land and more peoples and more material advantage. It should be regarded rather as a growth. Professor Seeley's term, the Expansion of England, most truly expresses the nature of the Empire and the kind of forces which have made it. Statesmen have struggled against expansion; they have at times insisted on subtracting instead of adding. Adam Smith wrote: "No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it." He could not have written these words at the present day, for cases

to the contrary could be quoted against him from the colonial history of England in the past century. The cession of the Ionian Islands, for instance, was a voluntary abdication of what was *de facto* British sovereignty; and thus, it may be noted, was one of the very few cases in which going back was final and had a satisfactory issue. When English statesmen have subtracted, or when they have refused to add, the usual result has been one and the same—sooner or later their policy has been overborne. The determining force has not by any means been simply and solely the acquisitiveness of individual or collective Englishmen; the missionary and the philanthropist have pressed a forward policy, as much as the trader and the concessionaire. The free will of the inhabitants of the lands into which the English have intruded has on occasions contributed to the same result; good causes and bad, mixed motives, have combined to make this Empire. Or rather it is more accurate to say that the Empire has not been made so much as it has grown. It has grown with the growth of a particular race, a race whose power to replenish the earth and subdue it—the soil of the earth, its mountains, forests, and waters no less than its manifold inhabitants—and whose capacity for administration account for the Empire at least as much as its aptitude for making money.

The second question is, What valid evidence can be adduced to prove that races and peoples not of English blood, who have come under English control, have benefited by that control, and what signs are there that they appreciate the British Empire as a benefit, or at any rate do not resent it as an injury? It would be easy to give figures showing that growth of population and increase of trade have followed where the English have come in; but, as has been said, figures are often suspect, they are, unless

Has the
British
Empire
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skillfully handled, somewhat lifeless, and they have been eliminated from this book as far as possible. It would be easy, again, to give further illustrations than have already been given of the advantages which lands and peoples have derived from the public works initiated and carried out by English heads and hands, to point to the prevention or relief of famine, the increase of food supply, the stoppage of disease, to irrigation, to reclamation, to the road and the rail. All these material benefits, however, flow in a greater or less degree from the establishment of any strong government which maintains law and order, and uses civilised machinery with vigour and effect. They may be given under a German system as under English administration, and they are compatible with a rule of force and with absence of any vestige of freedom. A strong government, even if oppressive, causes less misery to human beings than a weak rule, however well meaning. The words of the Athenian democrat have held true to all ages, that a state which has worse laws but abides by them is preferable to a state which has better laws that are not obeyed. Administration on European lines must be bad if it is not an improvement upon most types of native administration, but this does not by itself prove any very special merit in the British Empire, except so far as the English are proficient in public works.

Risings
against the
Empire.

Let us try the Empire by slightly different tests, and first take a negative test. What occasions have there been on which the subjects or citizens of the Empire have risen against the Empire? There have been many occasions of the kind, before the various component parts of the Empire were given final form and shape; in most cases, while they were border lands, not yet actual provinces of the Empire. Numberless native wars have been recorded in the fore-

going pages, wars in Asia, Africa, New Zealand. But where and when the Empire has been full-fledged, what serious risings have there been? Three may be noted, one in the eighteenth century, the War of American Independence; two in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Indian Mutiny and the South African War, or the two South African Wars which, in spite of the interval of time between 1881 and 1899, can really be classed as one.

The one great rupture of the British Empire was the War of American Independence, a break so complete that it may almost be said to have ended one British Empire and begun another. Then were the words of Isaiah the prophet curiously fulfilled: "The children which thou shalt have, after thou hast lost the other, shall say again in thy ears, the place is too strait for me; give place to me that I may dwell"—and place was found in Australia. It was the one rising which succeeded finally and completely; it took from England her oldest and by far her greatest colonies; it created the mightiest republic which the world has yet seen. It was a rising of colonists against the mother country, the greatest of risings in the history of the Empire; but it was a case of English against English, when the English overseas prevailed against the English at home. It was not a case of a non-English race rising against the English. The causes of the war are a theme in themselves, much written of by many authors, American and English alike. The subject is far too large to be dealt with here, but it may safely be said that no serious writer on the subject at the present day, whether he writes in England or in the United States, attributes the rising to gross oppression and misrule; all attribute it to faulty statesmanship and tactless mismanagement, over and above the particular conditions under which these colonies were originally founded and grew

The War of
American
Independ-
ence

in strength and independence. In connexion with this war, it is noteworthy that the lately conquered French Canadians, though invited to rise against England by the revolting English colonists, did not do so to any appreciable extent; some sided with the colonists, a few with the English; most remained neutral. It is true that those who incited them to rise were themselves English, and English who had been their special foes and rivals. Still, they were offered the picture and the prospect of liberty, and their old mother country joined the ranks against England. French Canadians can hardly have felt the burden of British rule, or they would have risen *en masse* against it. English toleration for their customs and their religion, embodied in the Quebec Act which angered the overseas English, and the sympathy which English soldier governors showed for the people against whom they had lately been fighting, kept that people, not firm in allegiance perhaps, but at least reluctant to rise against a rule which had already given them more liberty than they had ever known while they were subjects of the King of France.

The Indian
Mutiny.

By far the greatest native rising against the English in their Empire has been the Indian Mutiny. Here, again, a discussion of the causes of the rising would fill a chapter—a discussion as to how far it was a military rising, a mutiny, how far a revolt of the people or peoples of India. Lord Roberts, in his autobiography, *Forty-one Years in India*, thinks that it was not wholly a military revolt, but a mutiny of soldiers which would not have taken place without a backing of popular restlessness and discontent. His judgment is of special value, as being the view of a great soldier. It would seem that it was the outcome of a time of change and unrest, a time of suspicion, a time when new

wine was being poured into old bottles, with the result that the bottles burst; when measures taken for the amelioration of the many, such as the annexation of Oudh, created alarm and discontent: when religious apprehension was aroused, and the ill-disposed, the disappointed, and the intriguers were supplied with arguments. The names of the Englishmen who were prominent in the crisis are, it must once more be said, the names of men who stand highest in our roll of honour for devotion and humanity; their names alone would preclude the conclusion that the Mutiny was the result of widespread oppression; and even as newly conquered French Canada was not alienated and lost through the War of American Independence, so the Punjab under John Lawrence, won but a few years back after the hardest fighting, sent Sikh horsemen and infantry to carry the English cause into safety and success.

The Boer Wars in South Africa are difficult to class in any category. They were partly foreign, partly civil wars: but, as has been already suggested, they were in reality rather risings within the Empire than attacks from without. What estimate shall be given of them? It can only be repeated that the English brought the trouble on themselves by not knowing their own minds. The rising of Dutch against English originated, as the American War of Independence originated, not in oppression but in mismanagement from home, dating from the early years of the nineteenth century. The repulsion, the race animosity is gradually abating, now that the fight has been fought out and that South Africa is a self-governing dominion. If the great South African War is quoted as an instance of aversion by a non-British race to British domination, then in fairness the sequel of the South African War, and the events which are happening to-day, must also be quoted as evidence of

The South
African
Wars.

British capacity for conciliation and winning confidence by the grant of freedom within the Empire.

Positive
evidence of
apprecia-
tion of the
Empire.

Turn from what may be called negative evidence, drawn from the important uprisings within and against the Empire, to more positive evidence as to the benefits accruing from the Empire, and appreciation of the benefits. It must be borne in mind that discontent may be the offspring of a good empire because it is good, no less than of a bad empire because it is bad; and that discontent may even be fostered by the fact that a good empire has been long in existence. A people transferred from bad rule to good rule welcome the change with gratitude, they realise the advantage of the new conditions, and contrast them with the old. But in a few years a generation rises up which has never known the old bad conditions. Living in their own land and most of them never moving out of it, they are not able to compare the regime under which they live with the order under which other peoples pass their lives. To them what is good in their government has become a matter of course; while any defects—and there may be and constantly are defects, many of them handed on from the time before the new rulers came in—become the subject of complaint, and the motive of discontent; whereas in the less enlightened time they would have been passed over, or accepted with resignation, as the natural and recurring accompaniments of life. A policy, too, such as the British policy, the policy of diversity to which the last chapter was devoted, the policy of giving full play to the customs and traditions of the soil, a policy which tends to encourage what is called nationalism, breeds at once content and discontent; content because the people have so much their own way, discontent because, having so much, they have not more. Discontent is synonymous

with life, it means the perpetual desire to move on ; it does not necessarily imply fault in the system or the policy ; but it is the outcome of the system and the policy ; either because the system is oppressive, or for the diametrically opposite reason, because, by encouraging education and enlightenment, it has called forth new desires and wakened a new sense of life. Discontent arising from good government can never be put to the real test, that of placing the discontented under some wholly different system ; but, if French Canadians or Dutch Boers were asked whether they would prefer to be part and parcel of some other empire than the British, they might answer that they would like to be an empire of themselves, but they would beyond question, unless in a moment of irritation, refuse to exchange their present position for a place in any other empire or group of communities. In India nationalist feeling is emphatically the child of British rule. The effect of that rule has been to consolidate India, to make it into the guise of a nation out of a number of discordant dynasties and peoples. A rule of force would not have created the difficulties which face the administrators of India to-day, but then it would not have given life. Ask the natives of India whether they would prefer the rule or overlordship of another European people to that of the English. The answer might be difficult to give, because they have not known other European rulers, but it can hardly be doubted that it would be in favour of England.

Take the present war, one of the most momentous in which England has ever been engaged. What has been up to date the attitude of India ? Is there any evidence that the defeat of England is desired ? Is there not abundant evidence that the Indians wish to take part, as

Evidence
the present
war.

they are taking part, in ensuring a successful issue, and thereby securing the maintenance of the Empire? Is it not certain that the one main apprehension in India was lest they should be given no part to play in the war, in which they feel that, as members of a common Empire, they can claim a rightful share? Is it to be supposed that princes and people are giving their lives and their princely gifts without any heart behind them? If so, it is contrary to the teaching alike of history and of common sense. The same story comes from Canada. It is reasonable to suppose that French Canadians are, in part at any rate, attracted by the alliance of England with their old motherland, but, whatever be their motive, they are sending their sons side by side with English Canadians to fight for the cause as partners in the Empire. This partnership is the theme of the late Prime Minister of the Dominion, the great French Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, no less than of the present Prime Minister of British descent. The existence of Canada is not threatened, nor likely to be threatened. Canada has no German colonies or possessions within her own horizon, but the horizon of the Empire is hers; she takes her part and sends her men. In South Africa, with the Great War but a thing of yesterday, race feeling and Dutch nationalism is or has been strong. Here are Germans hard by to fan it, to supply munitions of war, to stimulate and stiffen rebellion. Yet from South Africa there is in the main the same story to tell. Dutchmen have crushed their recalcitrant kindred, and join with English fellow-citizens to square accounts with the German enemies of the Empire. The same is true of all lands and peoples wherever the British flag flies. The native races offer service; the islands of the seas send gifts. There has been no pressure from a dominant power; what has been done, what has

been offered, has been spontaneous, diversities contributing and bearing testimony to unity.

Let us take a wholly different test. Under a strong government, even if it is a government of force, the indigenous population may grow; slaves will multiply, if their material condition is cared for; and it is quite possible and likely that aliens may immigrate in order to be under a strong government, even though it is oppressive, provided that their lives and property will thereby be more secure than in their own native homes. But it would be very difficult to find a complete parallel to the volume of Chinese immigration into British territory or territory under British protection. The Chinese will be found, no doubt, in numbers, wherever in Eastern or Pacific regions the lands are open to them, and where European order reigns, but hardly to the extent to which they have come in where Englishmen are supreme. At the present day Singapore is largely a Chinese city. In the whole colony of the Straits Settlements, the Chinese now outnumber the Malays; they outnumber them in the Federated Malay States. It is true that this would or might not be the case, were they not attracted by the tin mines, but the tin mines would not afford sufficient attraction unless the profits from mining were secure, lives safe, and justice assured. The island of Hongkong, when the English annexed it in 1841, was inhabited by some 7500 Chinese, fishermen and others. It has now a Chinese population of over 230,000. The Chinese are a very conservative race, very shrewd, very industrious and commercial; they know what good rule means to the governed; apparently they appreciate British rule. There is a white race also which seems to appreciate British rule. This is the German race. The self-governing dominions contain large numbers of German settlers, who become

Immigra-
tion into
British
possessions.

excellent citizens. The great commercial centres in the Crown colonies, such as Singapore and Hongkong, contain, or have till these last days contained, among their most prominent merchants, German firms. Is this only part of a far-sighted patriotic policy of supplanting England? Is there not also some attraction in British justice and freedom? It may be noted that Singapore and Hongkong, the two cases taken for illustration, stand out conspicuous in the British Empire as being free ports to the whole world.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to multiply evidence further, to quote again cases in which peoples have invited British rule, to argue that the Sudanese peasant is better off under a British Protectorate than under the Mahdi, and knows that he is better off. When war was recently declared between England and Turkey, Sir Reginald Wingate at Khartoum was able to say to the religious sheikhs and ulema of the Sudan: "Each one of you present can bear witness that the British Government has brought peace and security of individual life and property to the Sudan in a degree that has never been seen before at any previous time. You can bear witness that we, the English, here, as throughout our dominions, have wronged no man willingly, have endeavoured to give equal justice to all, and have spared no pains or expense to improve the lot of the people in every way." His words won willing assent. The translation of a letter to him from a Sudanese chief runs: "Under your flag, which protects many millions of other Mohammedans, we are enjoying full liberty in the exercise of our religious duties, as well as our daily work, in the same way as all the other millions of Mohammedans under your rule." It is too often forgotten, especially in this land of party government, that the majority of men and women are not violent politicians; they are mainly concerned with living^u

from day to day, safe in their own little homes, tilling their fields and garden plots, earning their daily bread, rearing their children. They prefer their own race and customs to the ways of aliens, they have their instincts either of liberty or at least of nationality. But all know and all feel the difference between good and bad government, all know and all feel the difference between justice and oppression. A system may be an alien system; but, if it substitutes light for darkness and good for evil, if it is indulgent to what has been familiar and enlarges personal liberty, it is impossible that the new order will not win confidence among what are called the common people.

Now we will turn to the common people at home. We will assume that there is good reason to conclude that the British Empire has been a benefit to those living within it beyond the seas, and at least strong evidence that the dwellers in the dominions, colonies, and dependencies appreciate the benefit in their diverse ways and to a varying extent. But what has the ordinary Englishman in England to say to the matter? What is it to him that the Maori or the Sudanese is better off for living under British rule? Wherein is he the better or the happier man for the fact that England is not bounded by the United Kingdom but extends all over the world? What is the value of the Empire to our friend John Smith, the painter or plumber, who is often out of work, who argues that he and his mates have not profited by the Empire but, on the contrary, pay taxes which they might not have been called upon to pay, had not present Englishmen and past Englishmen gone fooling round the world, meddling where they were not wanted, taking what did not belong to them, talking about glory and patriotism and Empire instead of minding their own business. What is the answer?

What is the
Empire
worth to
the
Englishman
at home?

The
question a
meaningless
one.

In the first place an Englishman's question, "What is the good of the Empire to me?" is somewhat meaningless. It has as much or as little meaning as the question, "What is the good of being an Englishman?" or "What is the good of being born?" John Smith must quarrel with the parents who brought him into the world without consulting his wishes, and who, "in spite of all temptations to belong to other nations," decided that he should be an Englishman. Being born an Englishman, he was born a member of a particular race which has run a particular course, has had certain instincts, and taken a line of its own. He may have preferred not to have been born on an island, but he cannot help himself; no more can he help having been born on an island which has developed into an Empire. He may persuade himself that all English history has been a mistake; he may cast his vote against any further addition to the Empire and in favour of any subtraction from it; but he cannot alter the fact of its present existence; and only by extraordinary ignorance or misreading of history can he imbibe and propagate the doctrine that the Empire has been the work of the grasping, insidious few, a crime and a blunder, which would never have been perpetrated if the workers had had the reins of power. Such a doctrine pays too high a compliment to the few; it implies a kind of apostolic succession, with continuity of thought and design, among a very limited class of English leaders. It entirely ignores the startling facts that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when all the mischief began, the people were heart and soul in it; that, when the people had for a while done with Kings and Bishops and Houses of Lords, and put their own special man, Oliver Cromwell, in supreme power, he was heart and soul in it too. John Smith and the like of him have to

learn that there is evolution in the life of nations as in all forms of life.

But has the Empire done nothing for the poor working man of England? He is badly off in England, could not be worse, he says. There are the British Dominions beyond the seas, not only sending corn and beef and mutton and wool, but offering homes and chances, not of livelihood merely, but of comfort, and even riches to those who are not wasters. It costs money to cross the seas; but there are many agencies for helping the would-be emigrants to lands where they will be under the same flag, under similar laws, under similar but even more democratic conditions, where the same language is spoken, where the same customs, traditions, forms of religion prevail. Is this nothing? There are the tropical possessions of Great Britain. Do the working classes at home realise how much of their food and their clothing and of the raw material which gives the employment and finds the wages, come from the tropics. Ask at Price's candle factory, at Lever's soap works, at Cadbury's cocoa mills. What feeds the cotton mills of Lancashire? Where does the rubber come from for the Coventry motor works? Where are the bananas grown which the costermonger is selling in the streets? The answer comes back: all this is true. It is true, and we know it, that it is a great thing for starving Englishmen to have homes open to them beyond the seas. It is true, and we know it, that our tea and sugar and tobacco and cotton come from tropical lands. But this does not prove the value of the Empire. There could be homes for Englishmen beyond the seas, as for Germans, without any Empire at all; and as a matter of fact, till a few years ago, infinitely more Englishmen went to the United States, which cut themselves adrift from the Empire, than to all the

What the
working
man gains
from the
Dominions
and the
Tropical
Depend-
encies.

British dominions put together. The same reasoning applies to the tropical products. They need not be grown under the British flag, and do not grow any the better for having the shade of that flag. As a matter of fact, a large proportion comes from countries which have nothing to do with the Empire. How much Lancashire cotton comes from the United States ? What provinces of the Empire produce tobacco to any appreciable extent ? Jamaica sends some, and Borneo, but what percentage does it bear to the foreign-grown tobacco ? How much coffee is imported from British possessions in proportion to the total import of coffee ?

Free Trade
and the
Empire.

The case has been stated as above, in order to emphasise what appear to the present writer to be two arguments in favour of the Empire which are wholly based on modern conditions, and which seem likely to become more and more important. The Free Trade movement in England, and its success, amounted to a decision by the people of the United Kingdom which went far beyond the immediate question of the day. It was a decision that the future of England should be almost wholly the future of a manufacturing, importing, and exporting land ; that agriculture should be in the background ; that England should be not so much a country as a collection of great cities. This decision involved the necessity of dependence upon other lands for the necessities of life. Richard Cobden, the great apostle of Free Trade, among all English public men, was perhaps the most indifferent to Empire ; indeed he was actively hostile to it. He believed that there was no gain to England in retaining her colonies, and no gain to them. He believed that the obvious advantages of Free Trade would cut the ground from under Empire, and that the world would become one great peaceful market. The

advantages of Free Trade to England have long been acknowledged. It has brought riches in abundance and cheap food for a constantly growing population; but the advantages have been bought with a price, and that price is that the homeland has become more vulnerable and less self-sustaining. Nor has the Free Trade doctrine conquered the world, and the reign of peace is far to seek. So far as England draws the necessities for her life from foreign lands, she is not independent, she exists on sufferance. It may be said that it will always be to the interests of foreign lands to supply her, that for the sake of their own pockets they will do so. But these interests do not prevent war. Trade with Germany is valuable to England, and trade with the British Empire to Germany; where is it now? It is not likely that Great Britain will be at war with many foreign countries at once; but, as long as and to the extent that she depends not for riches merely but for necessities upon foreign lands, with the risk of war and in peace time with the drawback of tariff restrictions, she is not in a true sense an independent nation. This is where the Empire comes in, and herein lies the value of agencies, such as the British Cotton-Growing Association, which labour to increase the proportion of staple products that can be provided from within and not from without. National policy and the views which shape the policy would be safer and sounder, if the most obvious and commonplace facts were kept more steadily in view. The first elemental fact about nations is that they consist of men and women, and that in political and even in commercial matters human motives will have play. It must be safer to be able to provide the necessities of life within the household than to be obliged to go outside for them, if only for the fact that in time of stress—and it is times of stress which are the touchstone—the members

of a family will stretch a further point for one another than would be conceded by strangers.

Science
and the
Empire.

While England has become more and more dependent on supplies brought over the seas, scientific invention, to which some further reference must now be made, has grown apace. All forecasts of the future of the Empire and of the world must be wide of the mark, unless full allowance is made for the limitless possibilities of science. Two effects on England may be specially noted. The present war and the exploits of aviators in it teach us that England is ceasing to be an island. London was not darkened at night when Napoleon gathered his forces at Boulogne to invade England. The England of to-day, in relation to the continent, is not the England of a hundred years ago. The arguments, therefore, that no Empire is needed because of the insular position, the self-contained security of the motherland, are, like unsound or damaged aeroplanes, rapidly falling to the ground. Home defence on land has become more important than ever, and England is gradually exchanging the position of a unique European Power, unique because of her sea-girt shores, for that of a European Power, somewhat less easy to attack than the others, not by any means in the first rank in area, and in population far below Russia and Germany. In order to hold her own with the other first-class Powers, she must, in a more real and more vital sense than ever before, include in her estimate of herself, and in the estimate which others form of her, the area and the population of her overseas Empire. The mother country must identify herself absolutely with the Empire, as the one road to national salvation. This is becoming increasingly possible; for, while science is weakening the position of England as an island kingdom, it is greatly strengthening the position of England as an Empire. Attention has already

been drawn to the great importance to an Imperial Power of the constancy and certainty as well as the speed of communication which telegraphy, submarine and wireless, provides. But it is not merely a matter of sending messages to distant lands and peoples; the lands and peoples themselves are more and more ceasing to be distant. The miles are there, but they are not the miles that they once were. The powers of steam grow; aviation is only in its infancy; the same forces which are making England continental are bringing the different parts of the Empire closer together. As the necessity for broadening the basis of the English nation increases, as the conviction grows that the basis can no longer be an island, that it must be an Empire, so the facilities for broadening the basis increase. What was impossible in past centuries is possible now. What seems to be but a dream now will, if we reason from the past to the future, and bear in mind that under the rule of science the world moves at a constantly accelerated pace, become a waking reality.

But John Smith does not reason thus. The coming time for him may take care of itself. He is concerned with the present. He only knows that it is hard enough to win his daily bread; if he is told that his bread comes in the form of grain from Canada, that the wool which made his coat was once on the back of sheep on the Darling Downs in Australia, that West African palms gave him his oil and his candles, he may or may not believe it; if he believes it, he will find some one to tell him that all these good things might and would have accrued without the Empire. If, again, he is warned that in that case a war might cut them off, he answers that, if statesmen were wise and if the working men controlled the state, there would be no war. Then war comes, as it has come at the present time. In

time of peace he has been at pains to explain, that he could not have been worse off if he had been a German than he is as an Englishman, that the state would have looked better after him, and at any rate he would have had employment. At the same time, with some inconsistency, he has inveighed against any proposal to introduce the compulsory military system of Germany into England. He has been quite safe in saying that he would as soon be a German as an Englishman, because he has never been and is not likely to be a German, nor have any of his friends, who might otherwise possibly have contradicted him. He is dissatisfied with his lot in the world; and never having known any other than English conditions, he concludes that different conditions must be better. But war comes, serious, and full of danger to England; coast towns are bombarded and little children killed; if he is at all typical of the large majority of Englishmen, the poorest as well as the richest, the miner as well as the Duke's son, and if he is within the age limits, he thinks about joining the forces. Why? He will not hear of ceding a yard of British territory anywhere in the world; he welcomes the advent of troops from Canada, Australasia, India. Why? He is not compelled to fight or to do anything; he can sit at home and go on using the same phrases as before. But he realises that there is something in English liberty, there is something in belonging to England which is worth fighting for, and, if necessary, dying for; that he would rather remain a British subject than be the subject of some other Power; and so far as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, India, and the other provinces of the Empire are fighting the English fight, he is heart and soul with them. This is not the same thing as reasoned belief that the Empire is a political necessity; but it is the same instinct as that which in the John

Smiths of Queen Elizabeth's time gave birth to the Empire, and which carried it on—the instinct of defence, the love of liberty.

Want of belief by an Englishman in the value of the Empire in normal times is due, partly to revolt against the unwise vapourings of unwise writers and speakers, partly to want of knowledge. Even at the present day, and in the old universities which should lead English thought, the history of the Empire, the study of various branches of science in their direct bearing on the Empire, have not been put in their right place. We need a succession of Seeleys to teach strongly and soberly the evolution of what is called by the somewhat repellent term Empire, to teach it not as a subject for boasting, nor as a showy and agreeable appendage, but as a thing vital to our national existence, and as our own special contribution to history. "Our little isle is grown too narrow for us," wrote Carlyle in *Past and Present*; and it has been seen how in the same great book he dwelt upon the qualities in the Englishman which have made the Empire. "His unspoken sense, his inner silent feeling of what is true, what does agree with fact, what is doable and what is not doable—this seeks its fellow in the world. A terrible worker, irresistible against marshes, mountains, impediments, disorder, incivilisation; everywhere vanquishing disorder, leaving it behind him as method and order." These are the words of a great writer and thinker who believed in force, who was steeped in German methods of thought, and one of whose heroes was Frederick the Great; but it was not mere force he found in the English character, nor love of greed, it was the quality of discerning what is doable and what is not doable, the application to lands and peoples of practical common sense.

Carlyle's
testimony
to the
English.

These words of Carlyle are a fair estimate of what has

The Empire
a good piece
of work.

given life and strength to the British Empire. It may all be expressed in terms of the British instinct to do, and the British capacity for doing, a good piece of work. The artisan, who sees no advantage in the Empire, at least knows a good piece of work in his own trade when he sees it; and, if he is cast in the mould after which British workmen have been fashioned in the past, he will not lend his hand to a bad piece of work, not merely because he is an honest man, but because it would be contrary to his workmanlike instinct. This is the quality or characteristic on a great scale which has built up the Empire. British sense of justice has done much for the race in dealing with other races; but sense of justice is only another term for sense of proportion, seeing men and things as they are, taking a true and not a faulty perspective. The man who sets out to build a good house means to be paid well for his work, the people who construct an Empire mean to make their profit; but the one and the other have something in view besides gain, they set themselves to prove to themselves and to whomever it may concern that they know their job, that they are capable workmen. The Empire, then, ought to appeal to the workmen of England, if only as the largest illustration that can be taken of the constructive power of Englishmen. This point of view would be appreciated if the history of the Empire were taught, without minimising any of the wrongdoing of the past or the present, without attempting to deny that sordid motives have had play as well as higher aims, but with due insistence that it is contrary alike to reason and to the facts of history to represent the acquisition by England of an overseas Empire as an artificial process, the product of a line of self-seeking men solely intent on personal advantage, and not, as it actually has been, a natural and national growth, necessary to England for the

defence of England, congenial to Englishmen as the kind of work for which their character and their training have adapted them, and incumbent upon England as the part which has been assigned to this particular land and people in the evolution of the world.

For some Englishmen, at any rate, especially if it is brought home to them what a force religion has been in the overseas history of England, and what a large proportion of the principal actors in that history have been, in one form or another, religious men, will rise from a study of the Empire with a stronger conviction than before that

The call
of the
English.

There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will,

and—to supplement Shakespeare's words with Tennyson's—that

. . . through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns.

There has been rough-hewing enough and to spare in the methods by which the British Empire has been brought to its present stage; but there has been evidence of an increasing purpose, and most assuredly a widening of the thoughts both of the race which has extended its Empire and of the races over which the Empire has been extended. There is no cant or hypocrisy in the view that all peoples have their work to do in the world, and that the English are one of the races to whom overseas work has been allotted. It is obvious that doctrines of this kind may be used to cover a multitude of sins, but this fact does not make the doctrines untrue; and, if they are honestly held, they tend to higher aims and purer actions, to stronger resolutions, to more persistent pursuit of Justice. "By their fruits ye shall know them" If the end of England came to-day, and the

island were merged in the sea which has ever been its good friend, the work would remain behind, and the world would be a better world for the fact that Englishmen had lived and wrought in it, and left their posterity beyond the ocean to carry on their working capacity and their sense of fair play.

England
the home
of the race.

But the island is not yet submerged. It stands four-square still, the original home of the race, the corner-stone of the Empire. It has been attempted to trace the steps by which this small area of land, which was once the extreme north-western corner of the old world, became "in a great pool a swan's nest," as the horizon broadened from the "Narrow Seas" to the ocean which compasses the earth. But it is only when Englishmen cross the ocean that they realise what the Empire means, and what the island stands for in the minds of millions. It is the Mecca of the race, and to multitudes who are not of the race it is more than one of many lands. By the smaller peoples and by the native races it is associated, dimly or clearly, with liberty. It is a new thing in the experience of men that a people, who have been constantly taking and constantly profiting, have none the less been constantly giving, and that in some strange way annexation has spelled freedom. Englishmen would perhaps value the Empire more, if they appreciated the value which is placed upon it by those who are not English; they would think of their island as something more than the particular spot of the world into which they have been cast by the accident of birth, if they realised the love and the confidence which is centred in it from beyond the seas.

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